INDIA.

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Indiana.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

I print elsewhere two most important documents; one, a Memorial signed by over eighty influential members of Parliament, and addressed to the Prime Minister, requesting an earlier date and longer consideration for the Indian Budget; the other, Mr. Gladstone's reply. Of course the request contained in the Memorial was so reasonable and moderate that the marvel is such a request should be necessary. I believe there was only one member who refused to sign when asked, and, as the names show, the Memorial was readily signed by members of all parties.

THE SIGNATORIES TO THE MEMORIAL.

The signatures appended to the Memorial were obtained in a very short time, and there is no doubt that they might have been largely increased in number had more been required. Conspicuous among them are the names of the members of the British Committee, Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. Dababhai Naoroji, Mr. Schwann, Mr. M'Laren, and of our latest recruit, Mr. Herbert Paul, together with that of Mr. W. S. Caine, whose interest in India is unabated, though he no longer holds a seat on the Committee. Noteworthy, too, are the names of Mr. Macfarlane and Dr. Hunter, who have been forward in showing their appreciation of India's interests in the present House of Commons. Among the Conservatives who supported the Memorial are Sir Richard Temple, Sir J. E. Gorst, the late Under-Secretary for India, and Sir Andrew Scoble, a former member of the Viceroy's Council; and among prominent Liberals notice should be taken of the names of Mr. Stansfeld, an ex-Cabinet Minister, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. James Stuart, and Mr. Labouchere. But the most significant signatures are those of John Burns and Justin McCarthy. The members of the Irish Nationalist party did good service to India by their votes on Mr. Paul's motion for simultaneous examinations for the Indian Covenanted Civil Service, and Indian reformers cannot be too grateful to them for their support when it is remembered that the prolonged discussion of the Home Rule Bill demands their close and constant attention, and Mr. Justin McCarthy's assent to the Memorial on the Indian Budget is a presage that the Irish Nationalists intend to continue to find time to support the claims of India. Even more inspiriting in its future promise is the signature of John Burns. Mr. Keir Hardie's article in the May number of INDIA showed that the Labour party in the House of Commons and in Great Britain were alive to their responsibilities to the Indian peoples; the power of the Labour party is growing by leaps and bounds, and if its most stalwart representative declares himself on our side, there is a hope that the democratic Parliament of the future may show a more intelligent interest in Indian questions than the middle-class Parliament of the past.

MR. GLADSTONE'S REPLY.

Mr. Gladstone's reply is characteristically courteous and sympathetic, and under the circumstances of the time a generous acknowledgment of a righteous demand. It is written throughout in the Premier's bold, and still firm, handwriting; and there is something pathetic in the splendid courtesy of the Grand Old Man, who, with the abiding sense of personal

struggle, which his reference to the Irish Government Bill indicates, can yet so ungrudgingly spend the fleeting moments in an autograph reply to a Memorial, which suggests the subtraction of another precious day from the consideration of the Home Rule Bill. Whatever may come of it, India may rest satisfied that English statesmen, high in power and place, are taking a just view of their responsibilities to the Indian subjects of the Queen.

THE DIVISION LIST OF 2ND JUNE.

I print in another column the names contained in the Division List on Mr. Paul's motion. It will have an abiding interest for Indian reformers, and deserves to be placed on record in the pages of India. It enables us to know our friends, and we shall look for further support for the claims of India from those who supported Mr. Paul and Mr. Naoroji on that memorable occasion. The vote, as Mr. Naoroji said, will be worth a division of soldiers, for it proves that the people of England, through the majority of their representatives present on the occasion, are not prepared to allow the noble words of the Queen's Proclamation to remain a dead letter. The list deserves a few words of analysis. The majority consisted of 59 Liberals, 25 Irish Nationalists, and 2 Conservatives, namely, Lord Walter Gordon-Lennox, some time assistant private secretary to Lord Salisbury, and Sir Pryce Pryce-Jones. It contained the names of all the tried friends of India, and, of course, of all the parliamentary members of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. To the speakers who moved, seconded, and supported the motion, to Mr. Paul, Mr. Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn, we owe our most grateful thanks for their eloquent and earnest advocacy of our cause. The composition of the minority is, in some respects, even more worthy of notice. It consisted of 39 Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, 4 Irish Nationalists, and 35 Liberals. Of the 35 Liberals, no less than 26 were official Liberals, connected with the Government in some capacity, and 8 were members of the Cabinet. This is distinctly encouraging, for it proves that only 9 non-official Liberals opposed the motion, as against 59 who supported it. All who know the strictness of the party bond in Parliament will understand that it was almost impossible for any official to vote for the motion when Mr. Russell, the official mouthpiece of the Government declared against it, but it is satisfactory to observe that Mr. Gladstone himself, Mr. John Morley and Sir William Harcourt were not among those who declared themselves against this act of justice to India.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT.

Mr. M. Viraraghavachari has compiled a most useful little volume entitled "The Indian Councils "Act, and the Acts amending it, with all official "papers connected therewith, and the rules for the "conduct of business at meetings of the Council," printed and published at the National Press, 100 Mount Road, Madras, price one rupee. One of the greatest difficulties writers on Indian subjects in this country have to deal with, is the absence of documents in a handy form and compass. Though India is largely governed by printed memoranda, and the printing bills of the various governments are larger in proportion than those in any other government in the world, these documents are not very accessible in England. Editors' tables and officials' desks in India, are weighed down by an excess of printed matter, but in England, in spite of the courtesy of the officials at the India Office, who are always ready to allow an inspection of what they possess, it is hard to obtain a copy even of the *Gazette of India*. I welcome therefore the compilation, of which I have given the full title above, as it exactly expresses its scope. To take the burning question of the way in which the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments have carried out Lord Cross' important Act, it is of inestimable advantage to have the actual rules and regulations at present passed, together with Lord Lansdowne's speech and the actual words of the Acts of 1861 and 1892 clearly printed and conveniently bound up together. Valuable as is a study of the Indian newspapers in leading to a correct appreciation of what the people of India think on the subject, it is still more useful to have the document, unbiassed by comment, so as to be able to form an opinion for oneself. Mr. Viraraghavachari is to be congratulated on his patriotism in promptly giving to us a publication which greatly strengthens our hands in discussing the way in which the Indian Governments have carried out, or pretended to carry out, the intentions of Lord Cross' Act. It should be on the table of every statesman, politician, newspaper editor or publicist, who takes an interest in Indian questions, and deserves a considerable sale in England as well as in India.

THE BOMBAY COUNCIL REGULATIONS.

The rules framed by the Bombay Government to give effect to the new scheme of quasi-representation in the Legislative Councils, have evoked quite a storm of opposition in the capital of the Deccan, and a stern protest in the capital of Sind. In the latter Province, while the Karáchi Chamber of Commerce, which contains mostly the agents of Bombay firms, has been recognised, the enlightened Municipalities of Karáchi, Haidarábád, and Sukkur have been left out in the cold. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce sends one representative, and their agents at Karáchi send another; but the Municipalities and Local Boards of two important Provinces, Sind and the Central Division, are denied the right accorded to a handful of European merchants. On this question I printed a Memorial from the inhabitants of Bombay in the last number of India, and in the present number I print an article, pointing out the nature of the grievances, and the way in which they could be remedied.

FURTHER AGGRESSIONS ON THE INDIAN FRONTIER.

Ever since Lord Lytton, instigated by the Marquis of Salisbury, inaugurated his imperial policy, (with the sole exception of the all too brief period of Lord Ripon's beneficent rule) the frontiers of

India have never been free from officially arranged murder and robbery. I mentioned in our last issue (p. 165) how an attempt was successfully made to saddle King Thebau personally with the responsibility of the executions carried out as a part of the established state policy of the kingdom of Burma. I should like to know which of the three latest Viceroys of India, Lords Lytton, Dufferin, and Lansdowne, if tried before a just and impartial tribunal, could escape the extremest penalty for the bloodshed and rapine, for which they have each been responsible—and that not as a part of our national policy but in frank defiance of that policy, and of the explicit declarations of our Queen and Parliament. Another aggression is being prepared for, a military road from Darjiling towards Lhassa is in hand. No doubt if anyone puts a question in the House of Lords or Commons, this fact may be denied, but it is, as I believe, a fact all the same; and when a few years hence a further advance into Tibet is deemed desirable, an army will roll swiftly into the devoted country, and as in Burma the honest defenders of their native soil, who armed with bows and arrows, seek to oppose our ruthless aggression, will be published to the world as robbers and murderers, and swept down by Gatlings and repeating rifles, which the Government of India is not ashamed to use against virtually unarmed men, whose only fault is that they love their freedom and their country, and have no wish to be down-trodden by foreigners and enslaved. Will no really Liberal and Christian British statesman keep his eye on this matter?

FORCED LABOUR IN INDIA.

A correspondent from the Punjab sends me the following:—"When Lord Randolph Churchill was "touring in India in 1885 it was brought to his notice, "while he was at Benares, that water-carriers were "being impressed for the Soudan when war had "broken out. Whatever his political convictions, "Lord Randolph Churchill has English instincts, "and he at once telegraphed to the Lieutenant-"Governor of the North-Western Provinces, bring-"ing this fact to his notice. Needless to say, orders "were at once issued to discontinue the forcible "enlistment of the *Bhistis*, as water-carriers are "called in India. I am sure Lord Randolph "Churchill will be as much surprised as myself to "hear that *Bezar*, or forced labour, is an institution "recognized by the Government of India. I have "the authority of the Government of India them-"selves for this statement. In the *Gazette of India* "of the 25th February last, there is a review of the "report on irrigation works in the Punjab for "1891–92. The following is an extract from this "review:—'On Lower Sutlej and Chenab Canals, "'out of 664,301 labourers called out, only 425,537 "'were actually present, and the number of actual "'absentees, after allowing for 25,274, whose ab-"'sence was sanctioned, was 213,490; the propor-"'tion of absentees was unusually large. *Fines to* "'*the amount of Rs.* 1,06,745 *were inflicted for absence.* "'The value of *Chher* labour was Rs. 1,46,282, and "'the contributions from the Zai-i-nagha fund "'amounted to Rs. 55,498: in both cases there is "'a considerable decrease from the figures of the "'previous year. On the Muzzaffargarh Canals the "'number of labourers were—called out 464,054, "'present 401,016, absent without sanction 13,046, "'absent without sanction 49,992. Fines for ab-"'sence amounted to Rs. 26,845.' The *Pioneer*, the "perpetual apologist of officialism in India, has to "admit that the system is indefensible. In its issue "of the 14th April, it writes:—'There can be no "'question that the system, the working of which "'is here described, is opposed both to modern "'economic ideas and to the ordinary practice and "'traditions of English rule. Wherever we have "'found a system of forced labour in vogue, whether "'in India or Egypt, we have as a rule abolished "'it.' The only defence that I can think of is:— "'Such a system, as we have said, is opposed to all "'accepted economic canons; but it has been con-"'served in the Punjab on the plea that it har-"'monises with the customs and wishes of the "'people.' Did not infanticide and *suttee* harmonise "with the customs and wishes of the people, and "why were the British Government unwise enough "to abolish these customs? Here is a system of "forced labour carried on in open daylight, under "rules and regulations framed by the Government "of India, in an Indian Province, and I daresay the "Secretary of State for India knows nothing about "it. I wonder how long such a blot upon our Indian "administration will be permitted by a Liberal "Ministry."

ITS NATURE AND DANGERS.

I am not quite sure that I altogether sympathise with my correspondent's views. The labour on the canals to which he refers is not forced labour in any way analogous to that in the case of the *Bhistis* summarily deported to the seat of war. The case really stands thus: these Punjab canals from the nature of the soil through which they run have to be completely cleaned out every year. To do this of course involves a great deal of labour, which labour if not executed by those who are to profit by the work must be paid for, and would cost a great deal. Clearly the Government cannot charge this expenditure which is solely for the benefit of a small local area, to the country at large; it could only raise the water rate. As a matter of fact, if hired persons are employed who have not any interest in the results, the work becomes far more expensive than it need necessarily be. Hence from long before British rule, it has been the rule in the Punjab for all those persons who take water from the canal, to attend at the canal at a certain season, when they have little or no agricultural work, and unite together to clear out the canals for their joint and common benefit; and it is quite certain that the people would far rather give a week or ten days work at a time when they have little or nothing else to do than pay an enhanced water rate. Of course in every community there are a certain number of shirkers who try to devolve upon the shoulders of others the burdens that that they ought themselves to bear, and despite

of ancestral usage, there are always a certain percentage of the people who neglect to attend, hoping to escape notice, and that such shirkers should be fined, and fined heavily, hardly appears to me to be any injustice at all. But having said so much in regard to this particular case of forced labour, I am compelled to admit that in many places in India and notably in the Himalayas, in Kulu, and many other places forced labour is the rule, and despite all the professions of the British Government it will be found that troops scarcely ever march, civil officers scarcely ever make their seasonal tours through their jurisdiction without a widely extending impressment of carts, cattle, camels, and tentpitchers, and an anything but voluntary levy of supplies of all kinds. Several times the Government of India have made strenuous efforts to minimise the evils of this system, but I fear that they have been a little neglectful of the matter of late years, and it is quite certain that the time has now come to turn their attention to the matter.

EXIT SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT!

The end of May last saw the last of Sir Charles Elliott as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. I have no mind to add to the bitterness of his disgrace, but I am astonished to find in how many directions he failed as an administrator. The ill-starred Jury Notification alone is not to be placed to his credit. The unsuccessful State prosecution of a vernacular newspaper in Calcutta was his work, and there is reason to suspect that he attempted to establish a terrorism over journalism in Bengal. The *Indian Mirror*, in its issue of May 21st, published some curious correspondence that had passed between its Editor and the Government of Sir Charles Elliott. Last year in June a letter appeared in the *Indian Mirror* approving its criticism of the Bengal Government. The correspondent incidentally mentioned that Sir Charles Elliott was often guided by some of his secretaries, though sometimes he displayed some independence. Two district judges had incurred the displeasure of the Bengal Government by declining to give some information which they thought they could give only to the High Court to which they were subordinate. One of the secretaries proposed that these officers should be transferred to two distant and unhealthy districts—"punishment districts" as they are called in expressive official slang. Sir Charles Elliott had the good sense to veto this suggestion, but when the incident was made public he had not sense enough to hold his peace. He caused his chief secretary to write a threatening letter to the Editor of the *Indian Mirror* to the effect that the publication of the letter in question amounted to a breach of the Official Secrets' Act. The Lieutenant-Governor was good enough to add that he would not prosecute the offending journalist on that occasion, but a warning was given that if the attempt was repeated the law would be set in motion against the offender. The Editor of the *Indian Mirror*, as was to be expected, sent a very courageous and defiant reply which silenced Sir Charles Elliott. This identical administrator, says the *Indian Mirror*, is reported to have said publicly at a public function (St. Andrews' Dinner in Calcutta, 1892): "There is no Government in the world, which has so little to conceal, "and so much to gain from publicity, and being "properly understood as the Indian Government." At the moment he was saying this he was evidently of opinion that anyone who made any mention of notes passing between a Lieutenant-Governor and his secretary about the transfer of two district officers ought to be sentenced to a term of imprisonment! His Lieutenant-Governorship is yet another proof of the mistake made by putting a North-West officer, however able in his own place, to administer a Province so entirely different in its circumstances and history as Bengal.

IRRIGATION AND THE DEATH-RATE IN INDIA.

A correspondent writes: "Next to railways and "telegraphs, the Indian Government is probably "most proud of its extensive system of irrigation, "and with some reason. In a country so largely "agricultural as India it is no small achievement "to make even a fraction of the seasonal crops in- "dependent of the very uncertain rainfall. By an "extensive and constantly expanding system of "irrigation, the Government of India has opened "up large tracts of hitherto uncultivated country, "and turned them into cultivable soil. Ducts and "canals have been excavated, rivers are turned "from their courses and the whole country is "covered with a great network of canals. To the "Government it has not been merely a matter of "disinterested philanthropy. The Irrigation De- "partment brings abundant grist to the adminis- "trative mill. A heavy water rate is imposed "upon the agricultural population which profits, or "is likely to profit, by any new canal, which is "also one of the potent arguments for enhancement "of the land revenue at every fresh revision of "settlement. Sometimes the capital sunk in a "system of canals comes back to the coffers of the "Government in a few years, while the net depart- "mental income, which may be regarded as the "interest on the capital outlay, is far higher than "the Government has to pay to holders of Govern- "ment promissory notes. I have evidence—official "evidence—however, to show that to the people "this system of irrigation, which is being vigour- "ously pushed on directly by the Government of "India, is not an unmixed blessing. Irrigation "carries in its train malaria, increased mortality, "sterility, and consequent decrease of population. "There is a strong consensus of opinion on this "point. I shall extract only a few. Mr. Ibbetson, "the Provincial Superintendent of the Census opera- "tions in the Punjab in 1881, graphically described "the havoc caused by the Western Jumna Canal in "the Delhi and Karnál districts, in his Census "report. He wrote: 'Saline efflorescence has "'covered many miles of once fertile fields and "'driven their owners to seek new homes in Jínd (a "'neighbouring Native State), while miles of con- "'tinuous swamps have poisoned the air with "'miasma, killing or enfeebling the people, and "'rendering the men impotent and the women "'barren." An officer who had been deputed by "Government to report on the districts so far back

"as 1856, mentioned feelingly 'the spectacle of 'sick women and diseased children crouching 'among the ruins of their houses (for in many 'cases the very rafters had been sold), of haggard 'cultivators wading in the swamps and watching 'their sickly crops, or attempting to pasture their 'bony cattle on the unwholesome grass'."

OTHER EVIDENCE.

"In twenty villages of the Karnál District the population decreased from 54,791, in 1868, to 44,561, in 1881. '*The parents had died untimely, 'the children who should have taken their place had 'never been born, while those who had left the home of 'their fathers in search of new land will never return 'to the acres of snow-white salt which now represent 'what was once a smiling sheet of cultivation.*' I have not put this sentence in italics with the object of emphasizing these fearful words, because no amount of baldness would detract from their grim significance, but I wish these words to sink deep into the minds of my readers. The low vitality of the population living in the tract attracted attention so early as 1847, when a Committee of Inquiry was appointed. The medical officer on the Committee, in a separate memorandum, stated that three-fourths of the population of many villages had disease of the spleen. Another inquiry was made in 1867. Dr. Taylor, Civil Surgeon of Delhi, reported that he had found an unusual amount of spleen disease, and he also noticed that the villages 'enjoying the greatest advantages' of irrigation suffered the most. It is not necessary to multiply evidence. It may be asked how so many willing witnesses could be found among officials, and how they ventured to give such emphatic testimony. I am aware that Anglo-Indian critics will consider me sufficiently answered by the statement that the greater portion of the Jumna Canal was designed and constructed by the Mughal Emperors, and the present Government is not responsible for the consequences. Such an argument would only serve to weaken the position of the Government, for while on one hand the Government has constructed a thousand canals for one of the Mughal Empire, its plea of ignorance, on the other hand, is weakened by its admitted knowledge of the evil consequences of irrigation as established during the Mughal Empire. I am, however, willing to believe that the Indian Government is erring in ignorance, for otherwise it is difficult to reconcile the apparent solicitude of the authorities for the people, the precautions taken against epidemics of cholera, compulsory vaccination and the rest with this reckless and frantic creation of vast nursery beds of malarial miasma, poisoning the surrounding country with deadly exhalations, and more effectually accomplishing the ultimate extinction of the people than any epidemic, plague, or famine."

ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

No doubt there is a great deal in what my correspondent says. Whatever they may be in Madras, where the soil is saturated with saline matter, the result of a dense population for at least 3,000 years and where the climate and other physical conditions are different, there can be no doubt that alike in the North West Provinces and the Punjab canals are by no means an unmixed blessing. Neglecting their effect on the health and reproductive powers of the people, the constant use of canal water, has really the effect of rapidly sterilising the light sandy soils that predominate in the plains of Upper India and that quite independently of the saline efflorescence with which it so often shrouds the land. The plant food in these soils is but a small fund, and is only added to each year by a small quantity, ripened by solar and atmospheric influences into an assimilable form—a small quantity, about equivalent to what would be taken out of it by the stunted year's crop of unirrigated cultivation. But directly canal irrigation is introduced, the stimulated crops each year take far more out of the land than nature can add to it in one year. The agriculturist lives upon the capital, not the interest, of his field's fertility, and sooner or later this capital is exhausted, and cultivation becomes bankrupt. Of course, it should not be so, manure ought to replace what the crops take out; but practically, in the provinces and places we have referred to, very little manure is available—cattle have decreased in number, and their dung, dried in cakes, constitutes almost the only fuel available to the masses. Artificial manures are unknown, the peasants cannot afford such luxuries. And the net result is that in Upper India canal irrigation has exhausted large expanses of soil and is exhausting, though more slowly, gigantic areas. Joined with this is another evil. Much of the soil, for ten feet down at least, is surcharged with chlorides, sulphates, and other sorts of lime, soda, and other minerals. The floods of canal water sinking into the soil dissolve this, and then, under the influence of India's fiery suns, rise by capillary attraction to the surface, where being vapourised they leave behind them on the surface the salts they have gathered from the soil, and miles on miles of old canal irrigated land, once amongst the most fertile in the Province, are now white as snow, as veritable saline deserts as the Khoosh Maidan on the road to Yarkand. No doubt this is *not* a necessary consequence of such irrigation even here, with a good system of drainage established—(by no means easy where the slope of the ground is often less than one foot in a mile), and with abundant floodings of soil, so as to wash away the incrustation as it appears, a good fight might be made against this insidious enemy—but, and that has been repeatedly proved, such a fight would cost far more than the land is worth.

HOW FAR GOVERNMENT ARE RESPONSIBLE.

But admitting all this, I cannot concur in condemning the Government as unconditionally as does my correspondent. The greater portions of the Western and Eastern Jumna canals were old Imperial Muhammadan works. The grave evils that they entailed were not overlooked, but all experts at one time were agreed that these arose from bad laying out, and could be much diminished

in these existing canals and avoided in new ones by more scientific designing and execution. Now the Government had to move; the great success of Sir Arthur Cotton's canals in southern India (under very different physical conditions mind) created a party of canals at any price, a strong and able party which Cotton by ceaseless activity kept always up to the mark, a party too strong for the Indian Government, and so they *had* to make canals. Under these circumstances, the Government did perhaps the best it could. It accepted the dicta of the great bulk of the experts—it remoddled the Jumna canals, and it constructed new canals on what were deemed safe and proper lines, certainly at the time believing that these would exhibit none of the evil sequla of the old Mughal works. It may be urged that in so acting and believing they were over hasty, but if so, please bear in mind the terrible pressure put upon upon them by recurring famines, with millions and millions of victims, due primarily to the failure of the periodical rains. It was clear that if considerable areas could by canals be protected from such failures, that the evil effects of these irregularities could be greatly minimised. On the one hand experts declared that the modern scientific canals would be safe; on the other millions of lives hung in the balance (and as a matter of fact millions of lives have been saved by them), and I for one cannot blame the Government for acting energetically and pushing forward canal irrigation.

THE CANAL POLICY OF THE FUTURE.

Experience has now shown that, the more slowly perhaps, the modern canals still very certainly bring in their train in the plains of Upper India disease, diminution in fecundity, exhaustion of soil, and saline wastes. And it is probable that every life saved by those canals in their early years will be paid for many fold in their later ones. I know of only one place where canal irrigation has ever been largely practised under at all similar conditions (of course, the canals of Egypt and Sind, which bring with them their own fertilizers, are wholly different), and that one place was Mesopotamia, at one time the garden of the earth, but gradually reduced by over-irrigation to the condition of a howling desert. This will, humanly speaking, be the result in those vast tracts now irrigated by the Ganges Canal and its many branches, the Agra Canal, the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals, and most of the Punjab Canals; and I must say that if the Government, now that the state of the case is plain to all thinking men fully acquainted with the facts, continue to work the canals in the future as they have worked them in the past they will incur a very terrible responsibility, and merit fully the condemnation of my correspondent. What they have to do is: 1st. To lower the head of water in most of the canals; 2nd. Greatly improve the drainage everywhere in the neighbourhood of the several canals; 3rd. In ordinary years restrict irrigation to fully manured fields (such as those prepared for sugar cane), allowing these too only just so much water as is absolutely needful, and permitting general irrigation only in those exceptional years when the failure of the periodical rains demand resort to this insurance fund; 4th. Cease to attempt to make canals pay, in the mercantile sense of the word, but treat them as what they can alone in Upper India be safely used as, viz., as an insurance against famine. With the head of water lowered, and proper drainage (admittedly a most expensive and troublesome business in our vast, almost dead-level, plains), there will be no more fever, spleen, and race sterility. Thoroughly and richly manured lands will not suffer by being irrigated once in four or five years, according to the local agricultural course; and even the ordinary fields will not suffer by being irrigated on those rare occasions, perhaps once, perhaps twice, in each eleven years, when with the failure of the periodical rains famine impends and has to be countered.

SIND IRRIGATION.

The Bombay Government have recently published a Resolution regarding the Irrigation Report of the Province of Sind. In connection with it may we put the following questions:—Is it, or is it not a fact, that, there being no perennial canals in Sind, all that the Executive Engineers do is to see to the clearance of inundation canals, and the erection and repair of Government buildings? Is it, or is it not a fact, that all this work can be more cheaply, and as efficiently done by the ordinary native surveyors? Is it, or is it not a fact, that if, instead of crediting so much as *ninety per cent.* of all land revenue derived from irrigated lands to the Canal Department—say, fifty per cent. of the said revenue were credited—the Department would work at a loss? Is it, or is it not a fact, that in order to bolster up the figures, and to conceal the real deficit, the Department is allowed, not only ninety per cent. of all wet land revenue, but also ninety per cent. of all *fines* levied for cultivation of irrigated land without permission, and interest on ninety per cent. of the value of all occupancies in wet land, realized from new tenants? Is it, or is it not a fact, that there would be more money available for canals if the establishment charges were not so heavy?

REGISTRATION OF SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATIONS.

A representation has been sent to the Government of India, in its Legislative Department, by the Secretary of the Social Conference, in accordance with a Resolution of that body, *re* registration of social reform associations. It is certainly time that the old Act xxi. of 1860 should be amended, and the Conference has certainly made out a good case for exempting registered social reform associations from the fees imposed upon mercantile companies. The Government of India themselves acknowledged in 1885, that Act xxi. of 1860 stood in need of revision. May I ask why it has not been revised up to date?

MIRZAPUR AND THE ARMS ACT.

Complaints reach me as I go to press from Mirzapur about the extension, to parts of that District of the Arms Act, from which, as a reward for their active loyalty during the Mutiny, the people of that District have hitherto been exempt. The action

of the authorities seems to be singularly uncalled for in this case. Without warning, and apparently without cause, the inhabitants of the District and city of Mirzapur, North West Provinces, have been suddenly deprived of what they naturally regard as an honourable privilege, for they alone out of all the Districts of the North West Provinces, have been allowed, since 1857, to retain their arms. What makes the order of the Local Government peculiarly offensive is that the arms ordered to be given up are hardly weapons in any sense of the word; they consist, for the most part, of engines of war which date from before 1857 and whose later and more peaceful function it has become to adorn processions on festive occasions connected with the matrimonial or religious life of the community. I believe a good many of these old weapons are kept in the nurseries as playthings for the children, or as charms and talismans against evil; and the idea of a roving commission to search the nurseries of the land armed with all the powers of the executive Government is a little ludicrous.

AGRARIAN PERILS IN INDIA.

Some land questions, seriously affecting the condition of the greater portion of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, were discussed at a meeting of the East India Association, on June 22, at Westminster Town Hall, under the presidency of Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E. The principal speaker was Mr. Alexander Rogers, late of the Bombay Legislative Council, and an eminent Settlement Officer. He pointed out that the great distinction between the land revenue system in Bengal, including Oudh, the North West Provinces, and the Punjaub, and the smaller Presidencies, is that in the former the collections are made from Zamindars or large landholders, and from village communities represented by their headmen; and in the latter from individual ryots or peasants dealing directly with the State authorities. Proceeding specially to contrast the tenures of the Madras with the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Rogers said that the system of assessment adopted in Bombay has been amply tested for considerably longer than the first thirty years for which the settlements were guaranteed against enhancement, and has answered every expectation. The land revenue has in many cases doubled, agricultural stock and capital increased, and the condition of the people, as shown by the style of the houses in which they live, vastly improved. The saleable value of the land, as ascertained from the entries in registration records, has risen in some places to twenty, thirty, and forty times the assessment. On the other hand, the system of assessment in Madras is shown by the annual revenue reports to be a failure. It is quite evident that the land revenue, as now assessed, to a great extent, cannot be realised, and considerable hardship is inflicted on the people in endeavouring to collect it. In the course of eleven years about 3¼ millions of people (taking the defaulters' families at an average of four each) have been sold out of house and home. Mr. Rogers urged that endeavours should at once be made to bring into cultivation the lands that have been thrown out, by lowering the 50 per cent. of the net produce that now constitutes the State assessment on the land, to 40 or 30 per cent., and thus increasing the ryot's share to 60 or 70 per cent., as a temporary measure, pending a thorough revision of the whole system, and its reconstruction on more rational principles. At any rate, he concluded, the system of land revenue administration in Madras requires immediate attention. A discussion followed, closing with the customary votes of thanks.

ANCIENT HINDU LAW AND MODERN SYSTEMS.

In the Indian Conference-room of the Imperial Institute, Sir C. A. Turner, K.C.I.E., formerly Chief Justice of Madras and now a member of the Secretary of State's Council, presiding, Sir Raymond West read a most valuable paper on "The Criminal Law and Procedure of the Ancient Hindus compared with Modern Systems," on 19th June. The paper was remarkable, not only for its grasp of the difficult questions involved and its lucidity and grace of style, but also for its tribute to the educated Indians of the present day. No one has a better title as a jurist to be heard on the subject; and no one is more fitted than the late Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University to pass an opinion on the effects of higher education in India. In the penal sphere, he said, the law of the Hindus was a striking reflex of their philosophical and ethical conceptions. The general soundness of the theory of sanctions and punishments framed five or six centuries before our era might well excite astonishment when compared with the chaotic state of the penal laws of Europe until a very recent time. In the Hindu system, formulated by Manu, penances of the severest kind were prescribed to avert torments in the life to come, but the temporal penalty was well marked as an instrument of social order. The rules of criminal procedure were fitted to the circumstances of the people, and many of them were far less cruel than the procedure in England. The well-planned system of Manu crumbled to decay, because there was no wholesome sense of responsibility amongst the dispensers of justice, and no energising principle springing from the mass of the people. They now saw in India a striking revival of judicial probity and ability; and there was reason to hope for a complete resurrection of constructive juridical genius, and for material additions by India to the rules and relations by which human society was made richer in mutal aids to happiness, and furthered on the way towards moral and material perfection.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE "AT HOME."

The British Committee gave a most successful "At Home" in their rooms in Palace Chambers, on Wednesday, the 21st of June. Lady Wedderburn, Mrs. Bonnerjee, Mrs. Schwann, Mrs. Eva McLaren, and Mrs. Herbert Paul acted as hostesses on behalf of the Committee, and discharged their duties in a most charming and efficient manner. A special word of praise is due to the artistic arrangement of the rooms, which was entirely due to the energy and

taste of one of the lady hostesses, who in a few hours transformed a wilderness of books and papers into an abode of flowers and Indian art. Indian hangings adorned the walls and artfully concealed the documents which loaded the shelves, while quaint objects suggestive of the distant East aroused a good deal of interest among those who crowded the rooms. Our friends in the House honoured the occasion in considerable force, while many well-known political women were among the guests.

SOME OF THE GUESTS.

Among those present I noticed Sir William Wedderburn, M.P., Mr. Naoroji, M.P., Mr. Schwann, M.P., Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P., Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., and Mrs. Caine, Mr. H. Paul, M.P., Sir B. Samuelson, M.P., and Lady Samuelson, Sir John Leng, M.P., and Lady Leng, Mr. Seymour Keay, M.P., Mr. P. J. O'Brien, M.P., Dr. G. B. Clark, M.P., Mr. Hopwood, Q.C., M.P., Mrs. Josephine Butler, Miss Colenso, Lady Hobhouse, General Macdonald, Mr. and Mrs. John Adam (of Madras), Miss Conybeare, Countess Alice Kearney, Mr. K. R. Bomanji, Mr. Abdul Zafer, Dr. Kapardia, Mrs. Morgan Browne, Mr. and Mrs. Fredk. Verney, Dr. Farquharson, M.P., Mr. S. Williamson, M.P., and Mrs. Williamson, Dr. Macgregor, M.P., Mrs. Charles Mallet, Miss Ellen Chapman, Hon. Mrs. Ashley Ponsonby, Miss Whitehead, Mrs. Massingberd, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hancock, Mrs. Thomas, Mr. D. Crawford, M.P., Mr. Stewart Wallace, M.P., Mr. Caleb Wright, M.P., Mr. F. C. Frye, M.P., Miss Cons, Mrs. Percy Bunting, and many more whom I cannot all recall.

MEMORIAL TO THE LATE MR. YULE.

The parish church of Dunottar, Stonehaven, N. B., has just been enriched by the erection of a beautiful stained glass window in memory of the late Mr. George Yule, who was a native of that place. Mr. Yule will long be remembered in India as one of the most sagacious and staunch of the Indian reformers, and the news of his death on 26th March, 1892, was received with great and widespread regret. He was President of the Fourth Indian National Congress, which met at Allahábád, in 1888, and his inaugural address at that meeting was remarkable for its ability, and clear exposition of the questions at issue. The window bears the following inscription: "In memory of George Yule, "of London and Calcutta; born at Stonehaven, 1829; "died, 1892. This window is erected by his widow "in loving remembrance." It consists of four "lights" in all, each being lancet-headed, in the style so often seen in the mediæval edifices of Scotland. The two central lights contain a representation of the scene of Christ's Sermon on the Mount. On one side is the figure of the Saviour, seated. He is teaching the people assembled to hear His words. On the other side are shown various types of the multitude who followed him, such as the Jewish rabbi, his forehead bound with the phylactery; the Roman centurion with his golden helmet and warlike mien, leaning on a sword; the man and woman of the people; and little children plucking wild flowers. In the right hand light is depicted Christ speaking of the lilies, as they rear their graceful stems in that sunny Eastern land. Here, again, he is surrounded by the people, listening to his voice, and beneath are the words: "Consider the lilies of the field how they grow." On the left hand, the incident of Christ blessing little children is treated with profound sympathy, the Saviour being pourtrayed as a Being of mercy and love. Underneath are the words: "Suffer little children to come unto me." The "lights" are surmounted by rich canopies of gold and silver "tabernacle work," and the various scenes rest on elaborate bases of the same appropriate type. The design and execution are worthy of the makers, Messrs. Cox, Sons, Buckley, and Co., of London and New York. The work has been carried out in the same manner and material as the glorious windows still existing in York Minster, Malvern, in Fairford Church (Gloucestershire), as well as in Rouen, Rheims and Brussels. The colours form an integral part of the substance of the glass itself, and, therefore, like the antique glass, are proof against change, either from light or climate. The effect is very rich and mellow, just such an effect as one sees in the lovely old windows of the 14th and 15th centuries, a period when glass-painting had attained its highest degree of excellence in England.

AN INDIAN HISTORY OF OUR OWN TIMES.

In the April number of INDIA, I stated that Mr. Satya Chunder Mukerji, M.A., B.L., had in the press an *Indian History of Our Own Times*. The accomplished author, whose *Travellers' Guide to Agra* I shall notice in my next number, has sent me the first part of his more important work, which covers the years between 1859 and 1868. I only await the completion of his self-imposed task to give an extended review of what promises to be a most important historical compilation. I am glad to learn from the *Indian Mirror* that although he originally intended to bring down the contemporary history of his country to the year 1888, he has now made a welcome addition to his original plan, and intends to write the history of India from after the Mutiny down to the close of the administratien of the Marquis of Landowne, which administration must, in the ordinary course of things, come to an end before the present year is out. Mr. Satya Chunder began work in connection with this book in 1890, and issued the first part within the next few months (January, 1891), but the printing operations with reference to the second and the third parts had necessarily to be carried on slowly owing to his enforced absence from Calcutta, and the second part was not printed off till November, 1892. The third part has come down to the year 1885 in print, and the history of the remaining three years, which had been long complete in manuscript, will be printed off within the next few days. The book, as originally intended, would be completed with the year 1888, and the history of the years 1889 to 1893 would be added in a new part which would be issued separately. Mr. Satya Chunder is now engaged in this latter work, and hopes to

present it to the public simultaneously with the close of Lord Lansdowne's administration. Their Highnesses the Mahárájás of Travancore, Indore, Kuch Behar, and Hutwa have showed their appreciation of this literary undertaking by subscribing to it, and the Government of India in the official report for 1891 says that the writer has consulted the files of the leading newspapers and the published reports of the Government. I wish the book every success in India and England.

AN INDIAN GIRL'S POEM.

The poems of Toru Dutt, which were published some seven years ago, with an introduction by Mr. Edward Gosse, attracted much attention at the time, and the works of the gifted lady appealed to many readers, who do not generally patronise modern poetry, on account of her nationality and the success with which she managed a foreign language. I have just had sent to me a copy of "Mehir Muneer, "a Poem in three cantos, by a Bráhman Girl", which is published by Srinivasa, Varadachari and Co., of Madras. The author is a Hindu girl of only fourteen, and a daughter of a professor in one of the Indian colleges. Considering her age and sex, it is a most remarkable performance. Like all such productions, it is somewhat of a *tour de force*, and is more noteworthy for the promise it gives of great future excellence, than for what it actually achieves. The story is slight, but the diction is singularly good, extremely simple and yet adequate. There is no straining after graphic word-pictures; and the effects are obtained by those of natural and simple language. Personally, I have no pretensions to be a critic of poetry, and the poem interested me mainly by its evidence in favour of higher female education in India. If one little Hindu girl of fourteen can obtain such a mastery over the English language as to write a very graceful and readable poem in English of nearly forty pages of print, why should not other little Hindu girls be enabled to attain that higher education, which is now freely granted to their sisters in England? A careful watch must be kept that the Indian Governments do not endeavour to retrench by cutting down their expenditure—small as it is—on female education. Such retrenchment would be less unpopular with many sections of the Indian population than in other directions, for it is notorious that many estimable Indian citizens do not look with favour on the higher education of women—like many estimable English citizens for that matter—and to those who would ward off this danger I would recommend a reading of "Mehir "Muneer" as a proof of the aptness of Indian girls for English education, and of the quickness with which they can master the English language.

A CURIOUS LETTER.

As a rule, I avoid reprinting the curious letters in broken English with which many of the Indian journals fill up their spare corners. There is something pathetic in the endeavour of a foreigner to master the idioms of a strange tongue, and Englishmen, who are notoriously bad linguists, should be the last to make fun of the valiant efforts made to solve the intricacies of their most difficult language; but the following, which I take from the first number of the *Indian Daily News Overland Mail*, is particularly quaint, and the modest "even I" after his bold declaration that he can "easily distinguish "between bad and good or right and wrong" should cover a multitude of linguistic slips. The letter is addressed to a railway official. "Sir,—Hearing "that you are an illustrious officer in generosity "and liberality for the poor, I most humbly and "respectfully beg to bring the few following lines "under your kind consideration. I am very poor "boy without my parents, but one God, or your "kind attention on my miserable condition. Moreover, I am a boy of respectable family, but being "in this wretched plight on account of the changes of "the time, I have sunken into poverty and distress; "therefore, I request the favour to draw me from "this wretchedness. As there are many posts in "your department, such as guard, 2nd guard, goods "clerk, and trains clerk, etc., and I am willingly "fond of an employment of guard or ticket examiner in going train under your kind control, "because I can easily distinguish between bad and "good or right and wrong, and even I have fair "acknowledge both in English and Vernacular, "therefore I hope you will be kind enough to "assign to me any post."

THE WHEEL AND THE FLY AGAIN.

We have somewhere seen a definition of the practical man as "the man who has seen and heard "and misunderstood." Our American cousins are commonly thought to be even more jealous than the Britishers of their reputation for practicality, and certainly few have a better claim to come within the definition than the gentleman who reviews for that excellent paper, the New York *Nation* (March 23rd), Mr. Edward Carpenter's "Travels in India and "Ceylon," to judge by the following passage: "Not a month before Mr. Carpenter landed in "India, Mr. W. S. Caine, late a member of Parliament—an agitator strangely unmentioned by Mr. "Carpenter—was holding mass meetings in India, "and demanding a mild form of home rule. At "more than one of them the present writer was at "a loss whether to wonder more at the throng of "natives or at the utter absence of English." Readers of INDIA will have some difficulty in recognising this description of the Indian National Congress, and no difficulty in imagining the shock to Mr. Caine's modesty should he happen to hear of the *rôle* attributed to him by the intelligent foreigner. But we are not quite sure that even the average British elector would appreciate the extravagance of the joke of being asked to believe that the whole of this remarkable concentration of the political energies of young India—this effort of proleptic patriotism (if that is not too pedantic an expression for devotion to a nation that as yet is not, but is to be), with all its mixed daring and caution, its polyglot deliberations and its statesmanlike adjustments of religious and racial antagonisms—that all this had been got up by an English Parliamentary hand temporarily out of work, as the amusement of a few months' en-

forced leisure. It is necessary to have some notion of the size and mechanism of the wheel, in order to see the full absurdity of attributing its motion to the fly.

THE JETALSAR-RAJKOT RAILWAY.

Some interesting and suggestive things were said by the Thákur Sáhib of Gondal at the opening, by Lord Harris, of the new Jetalsar-Rájkot line. Gondal, which is one of the States of Káthiáwár, has taken the lead in developing the railway system of that peninsula. This is what the Thákur Sáhib was able, with legitimate pride, to say at the ceremony. "I may as well inform your Excellency, in "passing, that the total outlay of Gondal towards "the construction of railways amounts to 53 lakhs "of rupees, which is equal to more than four times "the gross annual revenue of this State. Consider-"ing its income, my State has, I think, contributed "its fair quota towards initiating and practically "pushing forward a project of public policy, which "is best calculated to advance the general prosperity "of the Province." Just so! while the Government of India is staggering under a growing load of debt, budgeting for a deficit and starving education and public works, a State of Káthiáwár, with an area about equal to one-third of England and Wales and a gross aggregate revenue of Rx 1,500,000, have, by intelligent co-operation and judicious expenditure, built 504 miles of line since 1879 at a cost of Rx 2,000,000. Further, as is stated above, the State of Gondal has alone contributed Rx 530,000, while the new railway, which is 46 miles in length, was only begun in February of last year. The State of Gondal, be it remembered, has an area about equal to that of the county of Derby.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS IN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

A GREAT victory has been won; a veritable triumph for Indian reformers generally, and the National Indian Congress in particular. The House of Commons has passed a resolution: "That all open com-"petitive examinations heretofore held in England "alone for appointments to the Civil Services of "India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both "in India and England, such examinations in both "countries being identical in their nature, and all "who compete being finally classified in one list "according to merit." The continuous agitation of the Indian National Congress has led to another real success. After this vote in the House of Commons no one can venture to say that the constitutional methods pursued by the Congress are not the most expedient for obtaining successful results. Persistent agitation will always make itself heard, and is likely in this nineteenth century, to be more successful than acts of open insurrection.

The credit of this great success—the first defeat which the present Government have received in the House of Commons—belongs to many individuals and many parties. For many years Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has worked hard to prove to the English people that the promises made to India of giving her sons an equal chance to take part in the administration of their native land have been practically broken, and the Indian National Congress at every one of its sessions has endorsed Mr. Naoroji's views. The fortune of the ballot gave Mr. Herbert Paul the privilege of moving the resolution, and the lucidity and eloquence of his speech had much effect upon the members who were present in the House. Though it was the energy of Mr. Naoroji which prepared the way, it was the speech of Mr. Paul which won the day, and the veteran Indian reformer does not grudge the latest recruit of the British Committee of the Congress his well earned laurels. Our thanks, and India's thanks, are due to those members of Parliament, who in an excessively trying Session, made it their business to be present in the House on the evening of 2nd June, and voted for Mr. Paul's motion. More especially are thanks due to those Irish Nationalist members, who, instead of taking a rest after their labours in the Committee on the Home Rule Bill, supported by their votes the claims of India to simultaneous examinations to the Civil Service.

It is all very well for Lord Salisbury and other opponents of the scheme for simultaneous examinations to assert that the passing of this resolution means nothing, and that it was carried in a thin House by a "snap" vote on a close division. The fact remains that the resolution was carried owing to the support of a number of Radical members whose allegiance to the Government is undoubted. The vote of both the official Liberals and the Conservatives was cast on the other side, and it was the stalwart supporters of the Government itself who placed the Government in a minority for the first time. The significance of the vote is shown by the leaders which appeared in the leading newspapers of every shade of opinion in the United Kingdom on the next morning. Had the motion been defeated there would have been little or no notice taken of it; but the fact that the Government was defeated was a remarkable political incident, and rivetted all eyes upon the subject which had led to that defeat. No doubt the battle will have to be fought over again; Lord Kimberley's reply to Lord Cross in the House of Lords on 13th June shows that the Indian Government is to be given an opportunity for protesting against the resolution instead of its being forced to carry it into effect; and the Indian Government is so skilled in wriggling that it may be long before it makes a straightforward effort to accept the principle now laid down by the House of Commons. But the fact that Mr. Paul's resolution was carried brings the subject within the sphere of practical politics: it will no longer be possible to ignore the breach of faith of which we have been guilty towards our Indian fellow subjects; and the reformers in India will feel that their policy of appealing constitutionally to the English people against the Indian Government is entirely justified.

To come to the question itself, the case which Mr. Paul, working on lines laid down by Mr. Naoroji, made out is so clear that it was never directly met in the House of Commons or in the newspaper articles of the Opposition. There was no getting out of

the fact that for more than half a century the policy had been distinctly enunciated that Indians were to have the same chance of entering into the administrative service of their country as Englishmen. No attempt has been made to prove that this equality of opportunity is utterly destroyed by the fact that Indian youths are obliged, if they wish to enter the higher branches of the Civil Service, to come to England at a very great expense in order to compete at the examination which is held in London. It is also generally admitted that it is perfectly easy to hold simultaneous examinations in India and England. What is done by the University of London can *a fortiori* be done by the Civil Service Commissioners. It is simply puerile to make assertions that the *vive voce* examination is essential or that the British Government with all its far reaching powers cannot ensure the safe passage of examination papers to India. These arguments are so convincing that the more skilled opponents of simultaneous examinations have tacitly abandoned them and admit that the scheme sanctioned by the House of Commons is perfectly feasible.

No; the main opposition, both of Sir George Chesney in the House of Commons and of our ablest adversaries in the Press, is based on entirely different lines. They say that the result would be that the Covenanted Civil Service would be swamped by acute Bengalís to the disgust of the other races of India. The poor compliment thus paid to young Englishmen that they are not the intellectual equals of the young Bengalís may be passed over with this allusion, for the sting of the argument rests in the assumption that the warlike races of Upper India would resent being administered by men of the Lower Provinces. The peaceful instincts of the Bengalí Babus are dwelt upon *ad nauseam*, and it is assumed that because they have not been for many centuries obliged to fight they are therefore necessarily abhorrent to the warlike races of the North-West. It is forgotten that the higher castes in Bengal belong to the same pure Aryan stock as the men of the North-West, and that it is only men of these higher castes who have hitherto shown themselves able to stand the severe test of a Civil Service examination. The old Roman motto, "Divide et "impera," seems to be adopted by many modern Anglo-Indians. While the National Congress is endeavouring to weld the peoples of India into a nation, a marked tendency is showing itself among Anglo-Indians to emphasise and accentuate the racial and religious differences which exist in India. Personally we do not believe that the Punjabís and the men of the North-West would be so disgusted as their false friends pretend at being ruled by highly cultivated Bengalís, and it is perfectly certain that Bengalí members of the Civil Service would prefer working in their native Province to going further afield. Mr. Kipling's story, "The Head of the District," is full of ludicrous misstatements, but we fear that only too many people try to make capital out of them.

The writers and thinkers who oppose simultaneous examinations on the ground that they will let in to the Service too many Bengalís, or, as the accomplished writer of "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* of 19th June asserts, too many of the literate classes, do not seem to understand that they are really arguing against competitive literary examinations. If these competitive examinations fill the Civil Service with the wrong type of man, it is the examination system which is to blame. If as these writers seem to think, only the wrong type of Indians can pass the examination for the Civil Service, why are they so sure that the system produces the best type of Englishmen? There were those who cried out when the competitive system was introduced in England, that the competition-wallahs would be very inferior to the old Haileybury men. Yet these false prophets have proved signally wrong. With this warning before our eyes it is a marvel that a new generation of false prophets should be equally certain that the competitive system must lead to the admission of many of the worst type of Indians. The competitive system may be good or it may be bad—that is not the question at issue. The good faith of England is pledged to allowing an equal chance for all of Her Majesty's subjects to enter in the Civil Service. Equal opportunities are not, at present, afforded to young Englishmen and young Indians, and the House of Commons has now declared that they ought to be made equal by holding simultaneous examinations in England and India.

Lord Salisbury asserted in the House of Lords that there was no obligation on the Government to pay attention to this resolution. But the House of Commons has often shown in the past that it has means of forcing Governments to obey its behests, and we doubt not that any Government which disregards the expressed wishes of the representatives of the people will soon be shown that the executive authority is the servant not the master of the people of England.

THE BOMBAY COUNCIL REGULATIONS.

The Regulations which have been issued under the Indian Councils' Act are generally regarded as an inadequate response to the appeal of the Indian people for more direct representation in the Legislative Councils. But on the whole the people of Bengal, North-Western Provinces, and Madras are fairly well satisfied. They are disappointed, but they expected to be disappointed, and they admit that half a loaf however grudgingly given is better than no bread. In Bombay, however, a perfect storm of opposition has been raised, and a most important section of the population, comprising some of the most highly educated men in the Presidency, complains that it is being deliberately deprived of representation on account of its advanced opinions.

The eight seats for which nominations can be made to the Governor of Bombay have been so distributed as to leave without representation the enlightened municipalities and local boards of the Central Division, which includes Poona, and of Sind, which includes Karáchi. Seats, however, are given to the Chamber of Commerce at Karáchi and to the Sirdars of the Deccan. But the Chamber of Commerce at Karáchi consists principally of the agents of the great commercial houses which have

their headquarters at Bombay. Since the Bombay Chamber of Commerce has the right of recommending a representative, the enfranchisement of the Chamber of Commerce at Karáchi practically gives the Bombay merchants two seats in the Legislative Council, or one-quarter of the whole representation of the Presidency. Surely it would be much more just to recognise the energetic work of the municipalities of Sind and to give them a representative in the place of the Chamber of Commerce. Sind is constantly being reproached for being more backward than the Presidency to which it is arbitrarily attached. But under the influence of the North-Western State Railway and of improved educational facilities the province is fast waking up. At Karáchi, Haidarábád, and Sukkur much energy has recently been displayed in local affairs, and it would have been a graceful act if this energy had been recognised by the grant of a nomination to the Sind municipalities.

The case of the Central Division is, however, even worse. It may be doubted whether in the whole of India there exists a class more fitted for political work than the cultivated inhabitants of Poona and the great Deccan cities. It has been much the fashion to regard the Maráthás only as sturdy warriors; but the political ability of the Konkanast Ministers of the Peshwás is now known to have been not inferior to the valour of the Maráthá soldiers. The Maráthás cordially rallied to the British Government; there is not a District in Western India where the classes that supported the Maráthá government have not shown their capacity for administration; there has not been a distinguished Bombay officer who has not paid his tribute to that capacity. Poona is the head quarters of the intellectual Bráhmans, and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha has for some years been the leading factor in forming public opinion in the Deccan. The leading men of Poona who fill the Sabha and guide the municipality have been noted for their free criticism of Government measures; and it is believed, rightly or wrongly, that the disenfranchisement of the municipalities of the Central Division is intended to stop the mouths of the Poona politicians. Instead of granting these municipalities abounding in highly educated men of the modern University type the right of nomination to a seat in the Council, that privilege has been given to the Sirdars of the Deccan. The Sirdars, who represent the old Maráthá nobility, well deserve to be regarded by Government, but not to the exclusion of their intelligent fellow-citizens. The Government could not do better than to appoint to one of the seats in their own gift a worthy member of the Maráthá nobility. Nay, more, it is their duty in safe-guarding the rights of minorities to appoint a Sirdar to the Council. But it is quite unfair to pick out this privileged class and to make their representation a pretext for excluding a nominee of the Central Division municipalities. And there is a practical difficulty in forming the Sirdars into a constituent body for choosing a representative. For there are Sirdars and Sirdars. There are Sirdars of ancient race whose nobility dates back for long ages, and there are Sirdars of modern date who have received the title of honour from the British Government. As the *Rast Goftar* says: "These are the men of yesterday with whom the hereditary nobles of true blue "blood do not like to be associated. But the men "of yesterday are in a majority, and if the right "of election were given to all the Sirdars indiscriminately these born aristocrats say that they will be "swamped by the inferior tribe of Sirdars who 'are "sure to vote in favour of some imaginary reformers "whose views are not at all palatable to us'." The position is not unlike that in France just before the Revolution, when there were constant disputes between the old and the new noblesse with regard to the elections to the Estate of the Noblesse in the States-General. The schism between the old and the new Sirdars thus openly declared will give the Government more trouble to heal than if they had admitted one of the much-feared Radicals from the Central Division municipalities.

The note of opposition from Bombay is the more remarkable in that it is universally sounded in the whole of the local press. It is specifically and temperately treated in the Memorial from the inhabitants of Bombay City, which was printed in the last number of India. But the mistake at present made could be easily remedied if the Bombay Government had a mind to listen to a reasonable criticism. For the Bombay Government, unlike the other local governments, has at present declared its intention not to arrange for the admission for the maximum number of representative members of Council. If then they are afraid of offending the Bombay agents who form the Karáchi Chamber of Commerce, and desire to perpetuate the rivalry they have started among the Sirdars of the Deccan, they have but to admit two more representative members from the Sind and Central Division municipalities. Either course would be statesmanlike, but Lord Harris in a recent speech to a deputation from Poona, showed an uncompromising attitude, and a determination to adhere to the regulations already issued. It is a pity that it should be so. For it is important that the people of India should understand that the boon of representation granted by Lord Cross's Act should be a real benefit to India, and not a further means for disqualifying for political life any class or body of men who are, by their intelligence or their education, especially well fitted to speak on behalf of the people.

THE LATE MR. C. J. ERSKINE.

It is with sincere regret that I observe the death, after a long and trying illness, of Mr. Claudius James Erskine, on the retired list of the Bombay Civil Service. In him we had the best type of the older generation of civilians: connected by hereditary ties with India; trained in the kindly traditions of Haileybury; and bringing to the discharge of his duties judicial independence of mind, combined with a cultivated sympathy for the Indian people. On both sides of his family he was hereditarily connected with India and with philosophical pursuits. His mother was a daughter of Sir James Mackintosh, who for seven years was Recorder of Bombay, while his father, Mr. William Erskine, practised at the Bombay Bar, and was the author of "The History

of India under Bábar and Humáyun." His own calm and impartial temperament naturally drew him into the judicial line of the Service. In those days there was a disposition on the part of the Government to regard Mofussil judges as a mere department of the Executive; and on more than one occasion Mr. Erskine found himself called on to vindicate the independence of the Bench. The tradition is that on one occasion a District Judge was removed from his appointment because he had had the audacity to place an attachment upon the Public Treasury in execution of a decree against the Government, and Mr. Erskine, then quite a junior, was selected to fill his place. But to the confusion of the authorities, the quiet young judge, undeterred by the fate of his predecessor, confirmed the order of attachment as being right and proper. Later on he was called to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General as representative of the Presidency of Bombay; he was afterwards one of the Judges of the newly-formed High Court of Bombay, and ultimately joined the Government of Sir Bartle Frere as the Judicial Member of Council. All those who had the privilege of working with him remember with affection his gentle ways, brightened by kindly humour. To serve under him was indeed a liberal education for a young civilian. In these days, when the official hand lies heavy on India, and much of the old civilian sympathy with its people is a tradition of the past, many will remember with regret the type represented by Mr. Claudius Erskine, who, whether as a judge or an administrator, looked with an equal eye on the claims of the Government and those of the humblest individual, and held that the true strength of our rule in India lies, not in a grasping and crafty opportunism, but in impartial justice and a noble trust in the people committed to our care.

Documents.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND THE INDIAN BUDGET.

LETTER FROM MR. GLADSTONE.

The following Memorial was recently presented to Mr. Gladstone:

Sir,—We, the undersigned, being deeply interested in India, and sensible of the responsibility of Parliament for its welfare, are of opinion that adequate consideration cannot be given to the condition of its finances, when, as in past years, the presentation of the Indian Budget is delayed until the close of the Session. We therefore earnestly desire that arrangements may be made to bring forward the Indian Budget on some date not later than the middle of July, and to give not less than two days for the debate. The fact that a deficit is expected, and that there is serious doubt as to how this deficit can be met, makes it specially desirable that the financial position should be thoroughly discussed in the present year, and we are satisfied that such an arrangement would be very acceptable to the Indian public, who feel most deeply what they regard as neglect of their vital interests. (Signed)

Dadabhai Naoroji,	Peter M'Lagan,
W. S. Caine,	J. A. M. Macdonald.
W. Wedderburn,	T. R. Buchanan,
Richard Temple,	D. Crawford,
James Stansfeld,	George Howell,
Charles E. Schwann,	James Rowlands,
Wilfrid Lawson,	W. P. Byles,
John E. Gorst,	Frederick C. Frye,
H. Labouchere,	H. L. W. Lawson,
Alfred Illingworth,	Thomas Snape,
Charles Cameron,	J. Shiress Will,
M. Oldroyd,	Samuel Montagu,
Joseph W. Pease,	W. Bowen Rowlands,
Arthur J. Williams,	Albert K. Rollit,
A. E. Hutton,	F. A. Channing,
Andrew R. Scoble,	W. A. Hunter,
J. Bright,	William Saunders,
H. P. Cobb,	A. C. Morton,
John Burns,	R. Farquharson,
James Stuart,	Thomas Lough,
Walter S. B. M'Laren,	Robert D. Burnie,
G. B. Clark,	Lawrence Gane,
Eugene Wason,	J. F. X. O'Brien,
Samuel Smith,	D. Sullivan,
John Leng,	P. J. O'Brien,
John Wilson,	H. J. Roby,
Joseph Bennett,	W. C. Quilter,
D. H. Macfarlane,	J. M. Moorsom,
E. J. C. Morton,	T. C. Warner,
Thomas Robinson,	H. S. Leon,
Charles Fenwick,	S. T. Evans,
Henry J. Wilson,	J. Seymour Keay,
D. Macgregor,	J. W. Benn,
William Birkmyre,	F. T. Mappin,
Cecil Norton,	C. M. Palmer,
J. H. Dalziel,	Gilbert Beith,
Harry Smith,	John E. Ellis,
H. W. Paul,	Sam Woods,
Godfrey R. Benson,	J. G. Swift M'Neil,
John St. Clair,	Justin McCarthy.
Albert Spicer,	

Mr. Gladstone has sent the following reply to Sir William Wedderburn:

10, Downing Street, Whitehall,
June 8th, 1893.

Dear Sir W. Wedderburn,—I have received the memorial from you and many other members, which expresses the desire that more time may be given than heretofore for considering the finances of India during the present Session. I cannot but admit, in addition to the general importance of the subject, the weight belonging to the signatures, and the special interest now attaching to the condition of Indian finance.

Aware as we all are of these facts, we have also before us the question of the Irish Government Bill, and the opposition offered to it in various forms before and now in the Committee.

Under these circumstances I am not as yet able to give any pledge bearing on the date of the discussion, but I feel with you that even if it be to impose a further sacrifice, adequate time ought to be found for it.—Believe me, very faithfully yours,

(Signed) W. E. Gladstone.

EXTRACTS FROM THE VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

2ND AND 3RD JUNE, 1893.

EVENING SITTING, FRIDAY, 2ND JUNE.

Supply.—Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit."—(*Mr. Paul.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*: Ayes 76, Noes 84.

SATURDAY, 3RD JUNE.

Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit.

DIVISION LIST, 11h. 55m.

AYES.

Acland, Rt. Hn. A. H. Dyke
Agg-Gardner, James T.
Allen, C. F. E. (Pembroke)
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert H.
Balfour, Rt. Hn. J. B. (Cl'km.)
Barton, Dunbar Plunket
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Br't'l)
Benson, Godfrey Rathbone
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Campbell, James A.
Campbell-Bannerman, Rt Hn. H
Carmarthen, Marquess of
Causton, Richard Knight
Chesney, Gen. Sir George T.
Curzon, Hn. Geo. N. (Lanc. S.W.)
Dane, Richard M.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt Hn Sir J. (Manc'r)
Field, Admiral (Eastbourne)
FitzGerald, R. Uniacke Penrose
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt Hn. H. H. (Wolvrh'n)
Gardner, Rt. Hon. Herbert
Gladstone, H. J. (Leeds)
Goldsmid, Sir Julian
Goldsworthy, Major-General
Gower, George G. Leveson
Grey, Sir Edward
Hammond, John (Carlow)
Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale-
Hibbert, Rt. Hon. Sir J. T.
Hoare, Hugh Edward (Cambs)
Hozier, James Henry Cecil
Johnstone, John H. (Sussex)
Kenny, Matthew J. (Tyrone)
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Lees
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
Lea, Sir T. (Londonderry)
Lefevre, Rt. Hon. G. Shaw
Lloyd, Wilson (Wednesbury)
Lockwood, Lt.-Cl. A. R. (Essex)
Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller
Lowther, J. W. (Cumberland)
M'Arthur, William
M'Donnell, Dr. M. A. (Q'n's C.)
M'Ewan, William
Morgan, J. L. (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. A. (Notts.)
Mowbray, R. G. C. (Lanc. S.E.)
Mundella, Rt. Hn. Anthony J.
Northcote, Hn. Sir H. Stafford
Pearson, Sir Charles John
Rentoul, James Alexander
Robertson, Edmund
Russell, G. W. Erskine (Beds.)
Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
Sitwell, Sir George Reresby
Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
Spencer, Hn. C. R. (N'hampt'n)
Temple, Sir Richard
Theobald, James
Thomas, D. A. (Merthyr)
Tomlinson, W. E. Murray
Tully, Jasper
Walrond, Sir William Hood
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Webster, R. G. (St. Pancras)
Weston, Sir Joseph Dodge
Wickham, William
Woodall, William

Tellers for the Ayes: Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. Thomas Ellis.

NOES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)
Arch, Joseph
Baker, John
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, John (Wexford, S.)
Beith, Gilbert
Bennett, Joseph
Birrell, Augustine
Bodkin, Matthias M.
Bright, Jacob (Manchester)
Burnie, Robert John Dickson
Burns, John
Byles, William Pollard
Caine, William Sproston
Cameron, Charles
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Clough, Walter Owen
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crosfield, William
Curran, Thomas B. (Kilkenny)
Dalziel, James Henry
Dodd, Cyril Joseph Settle
Donelan, Captain A.
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Everett, Robert Lacey
Farquharson, Dr. R. (Aberd'sh.)
Fenwick, Charles (Northumb.)
Field, William (Dublin)
Finucane, John
Flynn, James Christopher
Frye, Fred. C. (Kensington, N.)
Gane, Lawrence
Gibney, James
Hardie, J. Keir-(West Ham, S.)
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Hogan, James Francis
Holden, Angus (Yorkshire)
Holden, Isaac (Keighley)
Holland, William H.
Hunter, William Alexander
Jordan, Jeremiah
Keay, John Seymour
Kennedy, Patrick James
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cumb'land)
Leese, Joseph Francis
Leng, John
Lennox, Rt. Hon. Lord W. C. G.
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
MacGregor, Dr. Donald
M'Cartan, Michael
M'Carthy, Justin
M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim)
M'Laren, W. S. B. (Cheshire)
Maden, John Henry
Morton, Alpheus C. (Peterboro')
Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)
O'Keefe, Francis Arthur
Palmer, George W. (Reading)
Pease, H. Fell (Yorks. N.R.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pryce-Jones, Sir Pryce
Richardson, Joseph
Robinson, Thomas (Gloucester)
Schwann, Charles E.
Sexton, Thomas
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, W. Rawson (Halifax)
Smith, Harry (Falkirk)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Snape, Thomas
Spicer, Albert
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tanner, Charles Kearns
Tuite, James
Wallace, J. S. (Limehouse)
Wason, Eugene
Webb, Alfred
Wedderburn, Sir William
Wilson, John (Lanark)

Tellers for the Noes: Mr. Paul and Mr. Naoroji.

THE ANTI-OPIUM RESOLUTION.

THE people of India should be very grateful to the leaders of the Anti-Opium party for embodying in their resolution on the subject the amendment, which Sir W. Wedderburn would have moved last month, representing the conditions which the Indian National Congress regards as essential in any dealing with the question. The terms of Mr. Webb's Resolution, which comes before the House of Commons on the evening sitting on June 30, are given below. I also give admission to the terms of Mr. Russell's proposed amendment.

On going into Committee of Supply:

Mr. Webb,—To call attention to the growth, manufacture, and sale of Opium in India for purposes of revenue; and to move, That, having regard to the opinion expressed by the Vote of this House on the 10th April, 1891, that the system by which the Indian Opium Revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and which urged the Indian Government to give practical effect to that opinion by ceasing to grant licenses, and by taking measures to arrest the transit of Malwa Opium through British territory, and, recognising that the people of India ought not to be called upon to bear the cost involved in this change of policy, that oppressive taxation, and the stoppage of expenditure necessary for the welfare

and progress of the Indian people must be avoided, this House is of opinion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire, both in India and in this country, and to report as to (1) what retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the military and civil expenditure of India; (2) by what means Indian resources can be best developed; and (3) what, if any, temporary assistance from the British Exchequer would be required in order to meet any deficit of revenue which would be occasioned by the suppression of the Opium traffic. [*Friday, 30th June.*]

Mr. George Russell,—As an amendment to Mr. Webb's motion, leave out from "having regard to "the," to the end of the question, and add "strong "objections urged on moral grounds to the system "by which the Indian opium revenue is raised, this "House presses on the Government of India to "continue their policy of greatly diminishing the "cultivation of the poppy and the production and "sale of opium, and desires that an humble Address "be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty "to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to—

"1. Whether the growth of the poppy and manu"facture and sale of opium in British India should "be prohibited except for medical purposes, and "whether such prohibition could be extended to the "Native States:

"2. The nature of the existing arrangements with "the Native States in respect of the transit of opium "through British territory, and on what terms, if "any, these arrangements could be with justice "terminated:

"3. The effect on the finances of India of the pro"hibition of the sale and export of opium, taking "into consideration (a) the amount of compensation "payable; (b) the cost of the necessary preventive "measures; (c) the loss of revenue:

"4. Whether any change short of total pro"hibition should be made in the system at present "followed for regulating and restricting the opium "traffic and for raising a revenue therefrom:

"5. The consumption of opium by the different "races and in the different districts of India, and "the effect of such consumption on the moral and "physical condition of the people:

"6. The disposition of the people of India in "regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical "purposes; (b) their willingness to bear in whole or "in part the cost of prohibitive measures." [*Friday, 30th June.*]

THE LATE RÁJÁ RAJENDRALALA MITRA ON SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS IN INDIA AND ENGLAND FOR ADMISSION TO THE CIVIL SERVICE.

THE following quotation from the speech delivered by the late Rájá Rajendralala Mitra to the delegates to the Second National Congress at Calcutta in December, 1887, deals with the subject of simultaneous examinations which, since Mr. Paul's success, has attracted so much attention in England. It must be remembered that when he addressed the Congress the age by which candidates for the Civil Service had to present themselves was still 19; it has now been raised to 23. And it must also be borne in mind that the late Rájá was as temperate in character as he was sagacious in intellect. In this very speech he said: "Let your speakers speak moderately; let "your schemes be moderate; and let your Resolu"tions be so framed that *no* Government can have "any occasion to complain of want of moderation." These, then, are the words and sentiments of no young, hot-headed enthusiast, but of a mature man of letters, who leading political characteristic was moderation and temperance.

"With regard to the other subjects before the "Congress," he said, "there is one only to which I "shall refer, that is the Public Service question. It "is not so important, not nearly so vitally important, "as the question of the reconstitution of the Coun"cils; it is rather a narrow question and has a bad "stamp on its face, an anxiety on our part to get "the loaves and fishes; but still it is a very important "question; because without taking into account the "money point of view, the nation have a right to "demand that they shall have the privilege of serv"ing their own country. (Cheers.) This is a right "inalienable from the people in all other parts of "the world. It has been conceded even by the Czar "of Russia, and I hold that the keeping it away "from us is a grave injustice. (Loud cheers.) That "this deprivation should be done away with is a "matter which should occupy your foremost atten"tion. True, it may be said that at present the "people can go to England and enter into the Civil "Service, but it is such a mockery that the man who "tells it is either joking with me or actually in"sulting me. The question is, that we should send "our children, at the age of sixteen, five thousand "miles away for three years together for the purpose "of passing an examination of the strictest possible "kind. The odds are against them, the prizes are few, "and the blanks numerous, and the risks of sojourn "by youths without guardians in a large metropolis "teeming with temptation, are most serious. As a "matter of fact, several Indian youths have returned "from England as raving maniacs. Parents must "be foolhardy, indeed, who, in the face of these "facts, will venture to send their children to Eng"land at the age of sixteen. But suppose the age "is raised by two years. Would that satisfy all "your demand? I say nay. For the service of "one's country in no part of the world is a person "called away from his native land to pass an "examination. (Cheers.) Canada is under the "British Government. But Her Majesty the Queen"Empress does not require that every French "subject there shall go to England to pass an "examination, before being admitted into the Cana"dian service. Nothing of the kind is required "in the Cape Colonies, nor in Australia, nor in "Ceylon. And what is true of them is true of any "other country which is a foreign dependency. "Why should, then, the case be different in India "alone? The rule here is that no man should be "allowed to serve the country without the great "risks which await them in England, without "having to expatriate himself for three years, and "come home to be excluded from caste. This is a

"great grievance, too, and it is one regarding which "every Hindu and every Muhammadan gentleman "has a right to make a strong protest. I do not "deny for a moment that there are advantages in "going to England, intellectual and moral of a "very high order—(loud cheers)—and I would be "the last to put an embargo on any one going to "England, but I hold that it should not be made a "*sine qua non* for appointment under the government. "It is just as bad as the Czar's mandate which will "allow no man to become a high officer unless a "Muhammadan Ali Khan changes his name to "Alikhanoff. Our Sovereign, Her Gracious Majesty "the Empress, would be the last to show that she "is in this respect on a par with the Czar of Russia, "and I hope, therefore, that those who will take the "subject into consideration will not lose sight of this "important point."

THE DECISION ON THE INDIAN CURRENCY QUESTION.

Bombay, *June* 26.

Telegraphic intelligence from Simla announces that the Legislative Council has passed a Bill closing the Mints against the free coinage of silver, and making the value of the rupee one shilling and fourpence.

The scheme provides that rupees shall be issued from the Mints at that price in exchange for gold and sovereigns, and that sovereigns and half-sovereigns shall not be legal tender in India, but will be accepted in payment of Government dues at the public Treasuries at the same rate—*viz.*, at the equivalent of a sovereign for fifteen rupees.

This will have the effect of preventing the exchange from rising above one shilling and fourpence, and will also tend to prevent fluctuations. The rates of exchange between gold and rupees will be settled by legislation later, it being the intention of the Government to watch the operation of the present measures before taking further steps.

The Act just passed by the Legislative Council takes effect forthwith, and is based on the plan recommended by Lord Herschell's Committee.

THE important decision adopted by the Secretary of State for India, which is summarised in the above telegram, needs such careful examination and so much explanation that it is impossible to deal with it adequately in the present number of India. It is not possible to grasp its bearings on the condition of the people of India in a moment, and in the present number of INDIA I must content myself with printing the statement, which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji laid before the Currency Commission while it was still sitting. I publish this statement, not because I endorse its every argument, but because it is the only examination of the currency question from the point of view of the people of India, which I at present have at my disposal.

But though I am not prepared to discuss the action taken by Her Majesty's Government without much consideration, and without having before me more material for forming an opinion than the Report of Lord Herschell's Commission, it is necessary at once to enter a protest against the manner in which the matter has been hurried through at the last. No one can complain of the action of Lord Herschell's Commission. The experts who composed it, have evidently taken much trouble and have spared themselves no labour. But it seems to me that the position of the Commission has been generally misunderstood. They have not examined the problems presented by the Indian Currency question with the duty imposed on them of discovering the best possible solution, but merely report on the recommendations of the Government of India on the subject. These recommendations emanate from the officials at Simla, and must be regarded as the expression of the wishes and opinions of the official class. The people have not been consulted and have been given no opportunity to consider the resolutions, before they are hurried through the Legislative Council. At the special session held for this purpose, we are informed by the *Times* correspondent, that there was but a small attendance of the non-official members, owing to the haste with which the Council was summoned, and therefore even the small voice, which the Indians have in the Legislature, was not fairly heard.

Now, the Government of India is the real author of the scheme, which after much hesitation and obvious reluctance Lord Herschell's Commission have sanctioned. Naturally the officials look at the fluctuation in the value of the rupee from their own point of view, and a great question affecting the whole community should not be decided by any single class, because every class regards all such questions from their own standpoint and not from that of the general taxpayer. In the case of the Indian currency the class which practically decided the question has a direct pecuniary interest in keeping up the value of the rupee. The officials have done all in their power, both in Parliament and in the press, to draw attention to the manner in which their position is affected by the falling value of the rupee, and have naturally strong opinions on the question. They are not to be blamed for strongly advocating their cause, but the mere fact that they are a class directly interested in one phase of the question, makes it the more necessary that the Secretary of State should have made a special effort to elicit a full and fair statement of the views of the people of India. This has not been done; and it is important that from the first announcement of the decision arrived at upon the question, it should be strongly borne in mind that the decision of Her Majesty's Government is based on the recommendation of the Government of India, without the assent, or even the consideration of the views, of the people of India.

THE *Indian Daily News Overland Summary*, of which the first number was published in Calcutta on 17th May, is an excellent sixpennyworth. It contains the greater part of the Indian news and the more important leaders, and original contributions of the preceding six numbers of the *Indian Daily News* together with the latest Indian news received by telegram on the day of its publication.

INDIA

is published on the 1st of each month in London, and will be despatched to India by the mail preceding or succeeding the day of publication, according to circumstances.

Supplements will be published, free to subscribers, from time to time, containing VERBATIM *reports of debates on Indian questions in Parliament, and documents of historical or current interest.*

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INDIA.

LONDON, 1 JULY, 1893.

THE SEPARATION OF THE JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS IN INDIA.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD GARTH.

WHATEVER may be the result of the Maimansingh case to the parties more immediately concerned, the Indian public are very deeply indebted to Lord Stanley of Alderley for bringing the facts of that case to the notice of the House of Lords.

Lord Kimberley seemed disposed to take a somewhat lenient view of the outrages inflicted on the Rájá; but he may be forgiven for endeavouring to deal as lightly as he could with the misconduct of a civilian officer.

His answer, however, to Lord Stanley was a very memorable one; and it is clear that Lord Stanley's object was not so much to do justice to the Rájá, who seems powerful enough to fight his own battles, as to present his case to their lordships as a striking illustration of the injustice which is so constantly done by magistrates in India in the exercise of their twofold powers as Executive and Judicial officers; a system which, notwithstanding all the outcry that has been raised against it, is still allowed to disgrace our Indian administration.

So far as this system is concerned, the result of the discussion in the House of Lords is one which will be hailed in India with the greatest satisfaction.

Whatever opinion may be entertained upon the subject by members of the Civil Service, we have now the most unmistakable assurance of two noble lords, the present and late Secretaries of State for India, that they entirely disapprove of this system, even in the case of district magistrates; and that its further continuance can only be excused upon the ground of necessary economy.

Lord Kimberley's words were:—

"It is admitted on all hands that it is contrary to "right and good principle, that civil and judicial "powers should be united in one person. This is "not a matter in dispute. The difficulty is simply "this: that if the present system in India is altered, "it will be necessary to double the staff throughout "the Empire; and it is impossible that the Govern-"ment of India can find means at the present time "of making this reform."

And Lord Cross is reported to have said:

"That in regard to the main principle involved, "that is to say, the uniting Executive with Judicial "functions, it was a matter of the greatest import-"ance, which he (Lord Cross) had been anxious to "deal with himself. But that what Lord Kimberley "had said was perfectly true, that in the present "state of the finances of India it was impossible to "carry out this improvement, which would be of "vast benefit if it could be effected."

These strong expressions of opinion from such high authority will, I repeat, be gratefully accepted by the Indian public; and the more so, because they are made *without any reservation in favour of the district magistrates*. Indeed, it was especially with reference to the case of a district magistrate that their lordships' opinion was thus given.

The value of this concession will be better understood, if we take a short review of the history of this great question.

The necessity for an entire separation of the Judicial and Executive services was strongly advocated 100 years ago by Lord Cornwallis. But in those early days, and, in fact, during the whole of the Company's reign in India, it was found impossible, with the limited staff of officers at their disposal, to carry out this principle effectually; and not only so, but I am afraid the Company's officers found the union of the two functions such a convenient and powerful aid to the enforcement of their own authority, that they would have been extremely sorry, more especially in the case of the district officers, to reform the system.

This will be apparent from what took place soon after the transfer of the government from the East India Company to the Crown. In 1860 a Commission was appointed to report upon the reorganisation of the Police, and the instructions given by the Government to that Commission were (*inter alia*) that:

"The golden rule to be borne in mind was that "the judicial and police functions were not to "be mixed up or confounded. That the active "work of detecting or preventing crime was to "rest entirely with the police, and was not to be "interfered with by those who were to sit in judg-"ment on the criminal."

Accordingly, in the report of this Commission

made in the same year, they distinctly adopted this principle. They say:

Par. 27: "That as a rule there should be a complete severance of the Executive police from the judicial authorities; that the official who collects and traces out the links of evidence, or, in other words, prosecutes the offender, should never be the same officer who is to sit in judgment on the case."

But the Commission felt constrained at that time to make an exception in favour of the District Officer.

In Par. 28 they say:

"That the same principle, that the Judge and District Officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials having by law judicial functions; and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice. But with the constitution of the official agency now existing in India an exception must be made in favour of the District Officer. These magistrates have long been in the eye of the law Executive Officers, having a general supervision and authority in matters of Police, without extensive judicial powers. In some parts of India this original function of the magistrate has not been widely departed from. In other parts extensive judicial powers have been superadded to their original and proper functions; and this circumstance has imported difficulties in regard to maintaining the leading principle enunciated above; for it is impractible to relieve the magistrates of their judicial duties, and, on the other hand, it is at present inexpedient to deprive the police and the public of the valuable aid and supervision of the District Officer in the general management of police matters."

It appears, however, from Par. 30 of the Report, that the Commission were of opinion that as soon as possible the District Officer should cease to exercise these double functions.

In accordance with this report Sir Bartle Frere introduced a Bill for regulating the Police in Bengal, which afterwards became Act v. of 1861. From the debate on this Bill it is plain that the Legislature intended to effect as complete a severance of police and judicial functions as was practicable at that time. Some of the members, more especially Sir Barnes Peacock and Mr. Sconce, were strongly in favour, even then, of an entire separation, and Sir Bartle Frere himself evidently regarded the Bill as a temporary compromise; for while fully admitting the soundness of the principle, that police and judicial functions ought to be kept separate, he said: "It was one thing to lay down a principle, and another to act upon it at once and entirely, when it was opposed to the existing system. . . . . Under such circumstances it was often necessary to come to a compromise. . . . . Every year some progress had been made; and he hoped that at no distant period the principle would be acted upon throughout India as completely as his honourable friend could desire. Mr. Sconce had called the Bill a half-and-half measure. He could assure the honourable gentleman, that nobody was more inclined that it should be made a whole measure than he was; and he should be glad if his honourable friend would only induce the Executive Government to give it their support, so as to effect a still more complete severance of police and executive duties than the Bill contemplated."

It is clear, therefore, that at that time the principle for which we are now contending was fully recognised; that it was the avowed intention of the Government to adopt it as soon as practicable; and that the opposition to its complete adoption came then, as it does now, from the Executive Governments.

More than thirty years have now gone by since this Act of 1861 was passed. And although the staff of Government officers, both Executive and Judicial, has since been largely increased; although the outcry against this objectionable system, both by natives and Europeans, has waxed louder and louder, and thousands of instances of oppression, many of them far worse than the Maimansingh case, have disgraced our Indian rule, the Government have never, so far as I am aware, made any *bonâ fide* attempt to reform this abuse, or even to modify its terrors, by restraining within reasonable limits the powers of the district officer.

It is true that during the first ten years which followed the passing of the Act the question of judicial improvement generally, and of a more complete separation of the Executive and Judicial Services, was mooted by the Government on several occasions. The best civilian authorities in the various Provinces were consulted upon it; and a great variety of opinions, which are discussed at length in Sir James Stephen's excellent Minute upon the administration of justice in India, were collected from time to time by the Government.

In Bengal especially, in the years 1865 and 1868, all the highest civilian authorities were consulted. They were almost without exception in favour of an entire separation of the Judicial Service; and their opinion upon that particular subject is given by Sir James Stephen in these words:

"That the magistrates are greatly embarrassed by the union in their own persons of Judicial and Executive functions."

And yet, strange to say, notwithstanding the views of these officers and the predilection which Sir James Stephen might be supposed to have in favour of our English institutions, he records his own opinion (in page 29) that the District Officers ought to continue to exercise their judicial powers, *for the purpose of keeping up their influence and authority*; and that "any diminution of that influence would be dearly purchased even by an improvement in the administration of justice."

Again, in the year 1884, at the instance, I believe, of the native community, Lord Ripon requested Mr. Quinton, then a member of Council, to ascertain the views of Executive officers as to the propriety of reforming the system; and that the opinions collected by him were generally opposed to any change, as regards the District Officer.

But it is much to be regretted that Lord Ripon, who was undoubtedly desirous of doing justice to the natives, did not also consult the Bar and other competent unofficial authorities, instead of relying,

as it seems he did, entirely upon the views of civilian officials.

I have tried in vain to obtain a correct copy of this note of Mr. Quinton's; but I have been credibly informed by an Indian friend of mine,* who has seen and studied it, that the official opinions, as collected by Mr. Quinton, were to the following effect:

1. That the District Magistrate should retain his Judicial powers, *because they are essential to the weight and influence of his office.*
2. That in many Provinces it would be impossible to carry on the administration of justice without making a material addition to the magisterial staff; a measure involving great expense.
3. That the present system has worked successfully, and has seldom led to any abuse; and
4. That the District Magistrate seldom tries any original case in districts where other competent magistrates are available.

I observe that in the discussion on the Maimansingh case in the House of Lords, Lord Kimberley seemed to think that I was in error, in saying that the Indian Government kept up the present system for the purpose of enhancing the prestige of the District Officers.

I should indeed be extremely sorry, if I have in any way misrepresented the motives of the Indian Government; and I am rejoiced to find that so far as Lord Kimberley is concerned, he repudiates any such motives as I have suggested.

When I spoke of the Indian Government perhaps I ought to have said "Indian Governments." I was rather alluding to those leading members of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, who constitute the ruling power in India; and the reason which I gave for their keeping up the system is precisely that which, as I understand, is given in Mr. Quinton's note, as well as by Sir James Stephen, namely, that the judicial powers of the District Officer *are essential to the weight and influence of his office.*

And this, I believe, is even now the general view of civilian officials. I have heard them attempt to justify the system on this ground over and over again. But this I consider the very essence of the mischief. The magistrates can and do use their judicial powers to strengthen their influence, or in other words, to enforce their executive authority. No one who has not been in India, and had opportunities of observing the subtle and manifold ways in which it works, can possibly appreciate the extent of this evil.

Courts of Justice in the hands of the police cannot fail to become instruments of oppression. Instead of being, as they ought to be, the bulwarks of right and liberty, the power which ought to stand between the accuser and the accused, they become in the hands of the police executive the deadliest weapons of the accuser.

Far be it from me to wish to lessen the proper influence of the District Officer. I would only have it an influence *for good,* and not *for evil.* I would have him respected and reverenced as much as he is now feared; and to that good end I would deprive him of powers which he ought never to possess, and which few men, if any, in his position could exercise without abusing.

At the same time, I think it only fair to say this: I quite believe that these powers are very rarely exercised by the magistracy for personal or selfish ends. They exercise them generally in the cause of the Government and for Government purposes; and the only selfish end they then have, if it can properly be called so, is to show their zeal and activity in the Government service. Distinction and promotion is what they all very naturally desire; and if the requirements of the Government are zealously and successfully carried out, promotion of course follows. And to comply with those requirements, to increase the revenue, to compel payment of Government charges, to encourage public subscriptions, to enforce Government claims for land or money—to subserve Government purposes in these and a hundred other ways, a magistrate will use without stint his judicial powers, or any others which the Government thinks it right to put into his hands. He considers that the end justifies the means; and, what is of more consequence, the Provincial Governments generally think so too. Don't let us deceive ourselves. This is the true reason, why a system which we all condemn has continued thus long unchecked.

I hope with all my heart we may live to see it remedied. We have the utmost faith in the assurances of Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross; and if they see the evil in its proper light, I feel sure that a reform cannot be far distant.

The way in which that reform may be carried out is, I hope, more easy than Lord Kimberley is led to believe; but that is, of course, a somewhat intricate and technical matter, which cannot be explained in a few words, so I must reserve what I should wish to say upon it for some future occasion.

RICHARD GARTH.

* The gentleman to whom I allude is Mr. Monomohun Ghose, a leading member of the Calcutta Bar, who has had a large experience in Bengal, especially in Mofussil cases; and to whom I am much indebted for a great deal of valuable information upon this subject.—R. G.

THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS IN INDIA.

By JAMES STUART, M.P.

THE important meeting which was held on June 20th at Exeter Hall, under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn, M.P., gave expression to a very strong and widespread feeling of indignation with the action of the Indian military authorities. From the testimony which has been received from many quarters it is evident that in the cantonments of India there is still maintained in active operation the system of regulation of prostitution, which was condemned in every detail by the House of Commons in its Resolution of June 5th, 1888. The Indian National Congress has protested against the system on more than one occasion, and public opinion among the natives of India is certainly in sympathy with the active and determined men and women in this country who

mean to see that the Resolution of the House of Commons is obeyed.

It will be remembered that the Contagious Diseases Acts in England were suspended in 1883, and entirely and finally repealed in 1886. The military authorities at home at once bowed to the decision of the legislature. Disease is lower in the army in the latest returns which I have seen than it was immediately before the Acts were suspended. The Indian military authorities have taken a very different course. They have practically set at defiance the Resolution of the House of Commons enjoining Indian Repeal in June, 1888. The system continues in all its abhorrent features, and disease, which doubled during the preceding fifteen years under the operation of the system, has still continued to increase. It ought to be remembered that the military regulation of vice in India is not only condemned by the prominent friends of social purity in this country, but also by the Army Sanitary Commission itself, which in 1882, after a protracted enquiry, stated that "the system (Contagious Diseases Acts) "have failed in India to protect the health of the "troops;" and that "there are no facts on which "the continuance of the present measures can be "sustained;" and suggested as the true remedy "a properly organised system of dispensary and "hospital relief for the use of all classes, and "strictly voluntary in its application."

The Indian Government, however, preferred to neglect this Report and chose rather to elaborate and intensify the whole abominable machinery of the State procuration for vice. A few months after Repeal had been gained in England, the Quartermaster General in India issued a circular memorandum dated June 17th, 1886. It was issued in the name of the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Roberts) and urged upon the regimental authorities that "in "the regimental bazaars it is necessary to have a "sufficient number of women, and to take care that "they are sufficiently attractive." This document, kept secret from the authorities at home, was sent home by Mr. Dyer and brought by me before the House of Commons in 1888. It created so much indignation and disgust, not only in that assembly but in the country generally, that it was a potent factor in securing unanimity for the resolution already referred to. It was borne out by other documents, sent home by Mr. Dyer, and others of which I was enabled also to circulate reprints. These contained numerous suggestions of the type of the following: The medical officer of the Cantonment of Muttra "complains that the regimental matron lacks energy "and does not take trouble to attract good-looking "women." He suggests "that she should be got "rid of and a more suitable woman appointed."

The Resolution, moved by Mr. McLaren and unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, was as follows: "Any mere suspension of measures "for the compulsory examination of women and for "licensing and for regulating prostitution in India "is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, "authorises, or permits such measures ought to be "repealed." The result of this Resolution was that the Government of India altered the form of those clauses of the Cantonment Act which applied to prostitution, but substituted for them other Regulations, about which one of their own organs in the press made the following statement: "The fanatics "who howled until a weak Government gave way to "their clamour will probably howl again now at "the way the old order of things will be enforced "under another name but with very little difference "in manner." By the early part of 1890 abundant information had reached us that the old order of things in fact continued. An important Committee was formed in England which is leading the present agitation, and on its behalf a letter was addressed to the Secretary of State for India by Mr. Stansfeld and myself, and a reply was received from Sir John Gorst, on his behalf, dated March 6th, 1890, which concluded as follows: "With regard to the sugges- "tion in your letter that a system of compulsory "examination may be again set up, and that certi- "ficates of health will be given, or licenses to "prostitutes to resume their vocation, the Secretary "of State can see nothing in the rules to lend any "colour to such an insinuation, and he is unwilling "to attribute to the Government of India an inten- "tion to evade, or to allow any of its officers to "evade, the explicit instructions which he has "issued, unless some solid ground can be afforded "for such an accusation."

Thus directly challenged, the Committee referred to proceeded to make detailed enquiries in a number of the most important cantonments, and in the early part of 1892 they secured the assistance of two American ladies, Dr. Kate Bushnall and Mrs. Andrew, who furnished them with a mass of specific information, proving, we believe, beyond donbt, that the whole bad system of State procuration, and of registration and examination of women continues to exist. Having received the report of these ladies and of others, we demanded a Government Enquiry, and there is at the present moment a Departmental Committee sitting, which has received the evidence we were able to produce, and which is now awaiting the reply which the Indian officials may have to give. The Government have undertaken that this Committee shall report before the end of the present Session. Lord Roberts has denied the truth of the statements made by the ladies referred to, and has expressed his willingness to give evidence before that Committee. He will find it very hard to disprove that registration and periodical examination under Government authority exist, when we have in our possession the registration ticket of a woman in one of the principal cantonments of India, signed by the cantonment authority, and containing the dates of her medical examination, duly initialed. That piece of evidence alone, I make bold to say, is sufficient to establish our assertion that the Indian cantonment authorities systematically ignore the Resolution of the House of Commons, and that piece of evidence is only one link in a long chain.

James Stuart.

The Begum of Taora, with a party of ladies, is at present visiting Egypt, and is remarkably interested in that most ancient and historic country. She took her passage in the P. and O. steamer "Mirzapore."

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI TO THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE.

THE questions of exchange and currency in connection with India have, unlike those questions in other countries, two different branches, and it is very important to keep them distinctly in mind.

(1) Political. (2) Commercial.

(1) The political aspect entails upon British India the compulsory remittance of about £16,000,000 to this country every year (which will now be £19,000,000, as no more railway capital will be forthcoming to be used here instead of drawing on India). I am not discussing here the righteousness or otherwise of this state of affairs. It is the loss caused by the fall in exchange in the remittances of these (now) £19,000,000 which is the point under consideration. Otherwise the question of exchange would have no significance, as I have shown in my letters to the *Times* in September, 1886.

The proposal to introduce a gold currency into India is based on the argument that it would save all present loss to the people of India from the fall in exchange. It will do nothing of the kind. It will simply inflict greater loss and hardship on the wretched Indian tax-payer. I explain.

The Indian taxpayer at the time when exchange was two shillings per rupee was sending produce to England worth 16 crores of rupees to meet the payment of £16,000,000. Now taking exchange, say roundly one shilling per rupee, he has to send produce worth 38 crores of rupees to meet the (present) remittance of £19,000,000—or at a double rate. To avoid the confusion of ideas that prevails through the present controversy, I would eliminate silver altogether from the problem and put it in another form: that when one rupee was equal to two shillings the Indian taxpayer sent, say, one million tons of produce to meet the £19,000,000 of Home Charges—when a rupee is one shilling he has to send two million tons of produce to meet the same demand. Whether the currency be gold or silver or copper or lead will not be of the slightest consequence. The Indian taxpayer will have to send to this country as much produce, and not one ounce less, as would purchase £19,000,000—the only difference in the quantity of produce to be sent will depend solely on the rise or fall in gold. Only there will be on the poor taxpayer this additional infliction—that he will be saddled with the heavy cost of the conversion of the currency in gold; and gold becoming so much more in demand will still further rise, and the taxpayer will have to send so much more produce to meet the additional rise in the value of gold. All talk of saving to the Indian the present loss by fall in exchange is pure imagination.

Again, suppose a ryot is paying Rs. 10 as land-tax. When gold currency is introduced, what will Government take from him in place of Rs. 10? Will Government demand at the supposed rate of one shilling per rupee, *i.e.*, ten shillings only, or will Government demand arbitrarily in its despotic power at the rate of the fictitious value of a rupee as two shillings and will take £1, or any amount at any higher rate above the intrinsic value of the rupee? Taking the gross revenue comprehensively, the total gross revenue is Rs. 850,000,000, what will Government take from the taxpayer when gold currency is introduced? Will it take at the present supposed rate of one shilling per rupee, viz., £42,500,000, or will it arbitrarily impose a double revenue at the rate of two shillings per rupee, so that from his present poor produce the taxpayer must sell double the produce to meet the demands of Government. If the latter, what a precious benefit will this be to the Indian taxpayer from the gold currency!

When gold currency is introduced what salary will be paid to the European official? Suppose he has a salary of Rs. 1,000 per month, will Government give him at the rate of one shilling per rupee, *i.e.*, £50, and will the official accept £50 for the Rs. 1,000. Is not all the present strong agitation of the Anglo-Indian a clear reply that he will do nothing of the kind, but will continue his agitation till he gets £100 or something near it for his Rs. 1,000; or in other words get his salary doubled at a stroke, at the expense of the starving ryot? And has not Government already shown that it will yield to such agitation, and will be readily "liberal" to European demands at the sacrifice of the Indians? It has already yielded to the demands of the uncovenanted Europeans and has given them a fixed exchange of 1s. 9d. per rupee for their furlough, no matter whether exchange is 1s. or even less, say 6d. Now the whole European service is agitating to grant them 1s. 9d. or some other high fixed exchange, even to the extent of half their salary. Do these Anglo-Indians really want to exact from the starving ryot such high exchange when the rupee is worth perhaps a shilling or even sixpence? Who will pay this difference? Of course an arbitrary Government may oppress a people as much as they like, but will the British people and Parliament allow such a thing?

On the top of all this comes the merchant with his agitation for the gold currency, that he may be saved, at the sacrifice of the ryot, from his risks of trade. The profits of trade are for his pocket, but risks of a commercial disturbance must be met by the ryot! The poverty-stricken ryot must protect the well-to-do trader! God save India!

I do not need to trouble the Committee with any further remarks as to the effect of the introduction of a gold currency on the condition of the people, who, according to Lord Lawrence's testimony, are living on scanty subsistence, and who, according to Lord Cromer, are already "extremely poor." Our friends the Anglo-Indians have to bear in mind that they are taking already from the mouths of the poor Indian about Rs.150,000,000 or more every year as salaries, allowances, pensions, etc., to the so-much deprivation of the provision of the children of the soil. Will they never understand or consider this, and what evil that means to India?

A word about the proposal to stop free coinage of silver. Now we know that a trade, internal or external, especially internal, requires abundant currency in a country like India; the curtailment of

the coinage of the rupee will dislocate and cripple the free action of the trade of the country, especially internally, and will inflict serious injury and create some new complications. Secondly, the rupee, being thus artificially raised to a fictitious value by being made scarce, will depress the price of produce, and the ryot will be obliged to part with more of his poor produce to meet the demands of Government. Will this be a benefit to him? Further, by this restriction on coinage the wretched Indian taxpayer will not be relieved of a single ounce of produce in his forced remittances for the Home charges of £19,000,000—in gold. Whatever the exchangeable value of gold is in relation to produce will have to be paid by the poor ryot, be the forced artificial exchange or the fictitious value of rupee what it may. By restricting the coinage of silver—the price of silver in relation to produce being artificially enhanced—the taxpayer will have to pay the salary of all the European and other officials in such higher priced rupee, with so much more produce to part with! which, in short, will in effect be a far heavier burden, by increasing the *whole* salary of the officials of all the Services, both Indians and Europeans, at so much the greater sacrifice of the wretched ryot.

The agitation for stopping coinage of silver or introducing gold currency, far from relieving the Indian taxpayer from the present loss by fall in exchange, which in all conscience is very heavy indeed, will actually inflict greater injury upon the helpless fellows. All attempts at artificial tampering with currency will, besides injuring the people, recoil upon the perpetrators of the mischief. They can no more raise the value of silver fictitiously than they can suspend gravitation.

The evil of the present loss from exchange does not arise from the fall in exchange, but from the unfortunate unnatural political and economic condition of British India. Were there no compulsory remittances to this country (any ordinary *free* transactions of business or loans between two countries not mattering beyond the usual risks of business), there would be no evil or embarrassing loss to government such as we are considering. The excessive European Services are the cause of all such calamity upon the Indians. Any other silver-using country—for instance, China—has no problem like that which at present embarrasses the British Indian Government.

(2) Coming to the second branch of the question, *viz.*, the effect of the fall in exchange on international trade (for it is in such trade or business only that exchange is concerned), the best thing I can do is to give below the letter I wrote to the *Times* in September, 1886, and some other letters (I have inserted those letters, which I need not repeat here). Of the letters to the *Times* that paper was pleased to write approvingly in one of its leaders. Further, I have made, in the statement, some remarks as to the action of the United States in endeavouring futilely to stop the silver storm, instead of allowing it to run its course. This I need not give here.

The step which the Government has now taken will, I am afraid, produce much mischief, and inflict great injury on the taxpayer, crushingly heavy loaded as he already is. The utmost that the Government might have done would have been, as I was afraid they were determined to do, to give some fixed exchange to the officials for their remittances to this country—to as much as half the salary. This would have been bad enough, but the course the Government have adopted, and for which there was no great necessity, will, I fear, prove far more injurious.

Reviews.

THE BOMBAY LAND REVENUE.

The Land Revenue of Bombay, a History of its Administration, Rise, and Progress. By ALEXANDER ROGERS, Bombay Civil Service (retired). 2 vols. (London: W. H. Allen and Co. Price 30s.)

OF histories of India, and histories of particular periods of Indian history there are many, but there exists no complete administrative history of India, or even an attempt at it. The immense importance of the history of national institutions as symptoms and developments of national life has only lately been lately recognised in Europe. Stubbs' "Constitutional History of England," the master-work of the great man, who is the honoured leader and founder of the new historical school in England, is a model for the treatment of such a subject and is exercising a profound influence on the historical movement of the present day. India cannot be treated in the same fashion. She is a continent, not a country, and the constitutional history even of her component parts, her varied kingdoms and diverse states, cannot be discussed with the elaboration of the Bishop of Oxford, since the East is not the home of written constitutions and slowly developing institutions, but of traditional customs and unwritten law. Yet something similar to the constitutional history of a European state must soon be written, if Indian jurists, administrators, and politicians are to have a safe basis of ascertained facts on which to build in future. An administrative history, or a history of the administration of India, is badly wanted. A careful examination of the institution of ancient India, compared with the administrative system of Akbar and his successors and that which has been developed under the British supremacy, is a real desideratum, which all who are interested in Indian matters have often longed for. Such a work even on the most meagre scale would demand an amount of study, above the capacities and exceeding the time at the disposal of any ordinary man, and it will probably only be accomplished after many specialists have examined and laid bare the administrative systems of the ancient Hindus, of the Buddhist kings, of the Mughal Emperors, of the Maráthás and of the various types of rulers and dynasties, which have held sway in India. But though such a complete administrative history is a dream of the future, there is no reason why a thorough administrative history of India under British supremacy should not be undertaken. We all know the dramatic side of the growth of the British *ráj*,

but who, if any of us, can give a clear idea of the growth of the British-Indian administrative system? All who have anything to do with the instruction of Indian civil servants, feel the need of a handbook of administrative history. There are admirable books extant showing the position and aims of the administration at different times, but there is no consecutive administrative history. Did the civil servants of to-day know the gradual growth of the complicated system which they have to work, they would make fewer mistakes. The moment any man or body of men regard their work as the interpretation of a sacred and hide-bound perfect entity, instead of as a living organism, they become narrowed and lose the divine desire to initiate. The old devotees of the British Constitution adjourned the necessary reforms for many years owing to the superstition that the edifice could not be repaired and adapted to modern requirements without ruining it, and it has been the work of modern constitutional historians to prove the contrary. In the same way there is a danger that modern Anglo-Indian administrators may regard their system as perfect and blindly oppose any proposals to alter it. A knowledge of the history of that system would obviate this danger. I repeat that there is more pressing need for an administrative history of the British rule in India than for any book at the present time; it needs a man of capacity and knowledge to undertake it; a man without provincial prejudices; a man with unlimited power of drudgery; a man who does not work for fame or profit, for he would get neither; a man who would find in the feeling that he has done a useful piece of work his sole and best reward. And then if some of the Indian scholars would undertake the administrative history of the Mughal Empire, of the Maráthás, of Mysore, of Bengal, etc., a base would be laid for a study of Indian administration, which would make clear to the Indian people and to the world, which elements of the present Indian system are indigenous, which were introduced by the English, which are of the nature of compromises between Eastern and Western ideas, and a body of knowledge would be made available of infinite value for the comparative history of institutions.

Of all administrative history in India the most important section would deal with the history of the Land Revenue. There is no need for me to tell the readers of India how intimately the Land Revenue is bound up with the institutions of the people, or how essential it is that its nature and variations should be properly understood by all Indian administrators. Its management lies at the heart of Indian administrative questions, and every detail of its history in each province and district of India should be carefully examined. Mr. Alexander Rogers, late of the Bombay Civil Service, is an authority second to none on the subject of the Bombay Land Revenue, its history, its development and its nature. He has taken each district in the Presidency proper in turn, and gives its entire Land Revenue history in detail with admirable thoroughness and accuracy. His work is unique, and I cannot imagine the Bombay civil servant who will not carry it about with him as one of his indespensable companions wherever he may go. The only fault I have to find with Mr. Rogers is that he does not give us in the form of an introduction a general history of the Bombay Land Revenue System as it has gradually grown up. If he had taken the 8th chapter of Hunter's "Bombay: "1885-1890," and expanded the sketch of the growth of the Bombay Land Revenue system there given, he would have improved the value of his detailed work. It is all very well to have Pringle's system and the famous Joint Report of 1847 cropping up in their proper places, but a general introduction would have given a good opportunity to treat these questions as a whole. If Mr. Rogers had done this, his valuable book would have been still more valuable, for the Land Revenue history of the different Districts would have illustrated the general history as sketched out in the introduction. As it is, it is difficult for the general reader or the young civilian going to Bombay, to rush straight into the Land Revenue history of Ahmadábád District without feeling flustered and confused. I may state that for this reason I have found it necessary to cause a young student to study the 8th chapter of Hunter's "Bombay" before he tackled the serious study of Mr. Rogers' work.

But it is ungracious to find fault with a work which has caused such an infinity of labour, and which is such a splendid example of the vigour and industry with which Indian civilians, after retiring from the service, throw themselves into useful work for the country in which they have spent the best years of their life. And further I do not mean to find fault; I only think that Mr. Rogers has lost a grand opportunity of writing a general sketch of the history of the Bombay Land Revenue. Perhaps he will yet do so. I only wish he would, and would publish an "Introduction to the History of the Land "Revenue of Bombay," as a supplement to this greater work.

I cannot leave the consideration of these admirable volumes without remarking on the frequency with which several of the great Bombay names occur. Again and again Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm are quoted on various questions under different districts. If anyone conversant with the history of the English in India wanted more proofs of the extraordinary grasp possessed by Mountstuart Elphinstone over Indian questions he would find them in these volumes. Always sagacious, he combined a mastery of details with an appreciation of principles, which is absolutely surprising. Comparisons are always invidious, but few persons after studying these volumes would fail to come to the conclusion that Elphinstone was the greatest statesman who ever illustrated the ranks of the old Company's Civil Service in India. That service produced indeed many great administrators; in Revenue questions alone it can boast of Law, the father of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, Shore, Harington, Goldsmid, and Bird, but I doubt if any of them combined such a luminous grasp of essential principles with their great mastery of details. Another great name, which constantly occurs, and always appears side by side with a quotation of admirable point and knowledge is that of Sir George Wingate. Wingate was one of the

signatories of the Joint Report of 1847, and his name will ever be associated with the history of the Bombay Land Settlement. I should like to quote the whole of the passage in which Lieutenant Wingate, as he was then, discussed the state of the Deccan, and the principles of a healthy land settlement which should be applied to it. The passage should be bound as a frontlet on the forehead of every settlement officer in India. It is quoted in the history of the Land Revenue of Sholápur District on pp. 68, 69 of the second volume of Mr. Rogers' work, and personally I have not met with it before. The concluding sentences run as follows: "An assessment, however little in excess of what "the land would bear, must go on from year to "year slowly but surely exhausting the fountains "of national wealth without affording any signs of "its baneful progress. The Government, however "solicitous for the welfare of its people, remained "in ignorance of the deplorable state of the case till "the ruin brought about could no longer be con-"cealed. An error on the wrong side would pro-"duce incalculable evil, and the proper policy was "not to fix the assessment at what the land "would actually bear, but as far within it as the "exigencies of the State would admit."

In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that Mr. Rogers may be induced, if he ever gives us a general introduction on the Bombay Land Revenue system, that he would add to it an index to the present volumes. A work of this description needs a most elaborate index, for it is impossible to find, for instance, the *obiter dicta* of men like Elphinstone and Wingate, unless one turns down the pages, which ruins the book. I had intended to quote his definition of the old *tankha* and *kamal* assessments, which differs somewhat from that given in Hunter's "Bombay: 1885–1890," but unfortunately I cannot find the page on which it occurs. Those of my readers to whom the terms are meaningless will perhaps not be sorry for the omission; those to whom they are full of meaning may be induced to look for them, which will cause them to read a work, alike learned and thorough, and full of a real and tender sympathy for the interests of the people of India.

THE LEADERS OF THE INDIAN REFORMERS.

Eminent Indians on Indian Politics, with Sketches of their Lives, Portraits and Speeches, edited by Chunilal Lalubhai Parekh. (Bombay: Published by the Author, Ramwadi Agiari Lane. Price Four Rupees.)

Personality has always, and naturally, played a great part in politics, and in these days of a cheap newspaper press and universal power to read, when the words of leading men are studied by thousands though only a few may have heard their speeches, it plays a greater part than ever before. One of the great drawbacks under which the cause of Indian reform has laboured in England is that its prominent exponents are practically unknown to the mass of Englishmen. They are appealed to on behalf of the claims of right and justice, but even these great words ring dully in the ears of the majority of nineteenth century men, unless they are enforced by the advocacy of a commanding and magnetic personality. The leaders of the Indian Reform movement are too acute not to perceive that their claims on the attention of Englishmen are hampered by the fact that India is many hundreds of miles away, that its grievances are of a character not easily understood by those who have not studied them on the spot, and that its national leaders are unknown quantities. Englishmen understood what was implied by the abolition of trial by jury, and their righteous indignation, as expressed in the press, compelled the Government of India to withdraw from its obnoxious attitude. Englishmen are slowly learning more and more of Indian affairs, and with knowledge will come enlightenment, with enlightenment sympathy, and with sympathy a hearty insistence on the redress of grievances.

The leaders of the Indian reformers, that is of the Indian National Congress, have long felt it to be necessary that they should get into touch with the English people, if they are to influence English opinion. In 1885 took place the famous visit of the three Indian delegates, Mr. Manomohan Ghose from Bengal, Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar from Madras, and Mr. Narayan Ganesh Chandravarkar from Bombay, who made a profound impression by their patriotism and eloquence. In the same year, Mr. Lalmohan Ghose made his gallant attempt to enter the House of Commons as member for Deptford, and the work of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, culminating in his return for Central Finsbury last year, helped to complete the obliteration of the popular idea among Englishmen that an Indian was not a human being with the same hopes and aspirations after self-government as themselves. But this is not enough. The Indian National Congress has felt that an object lesson on a larger scale of the fitness of educated Indians for political functions is needed to impress the minds of the British public, and it has for several years past considered the possibility of holding a session in London. Hitherto the obstacles in the way have been insurmountable, but it is to be hoped that they will eventually be cleared away, and that Englishmen may soon see the Congress at work before their eyes, hear the tones of its eloquent speakers, and observe their ripeness for higher responsibilities. But until this consummation is attained, it is only possible to endeavour to make known the personalities and the ideas of the Indian reformers in print, and Mr. Chunilal Lalubhai Parekh has done a good and patriotic work in compiling a volume containing the portraits, sketches of the lives, and specimens of the oratory of the leaders of Indian thought.

He has selected five representatives of Bengal, eight of Bombay, four of Madras, and five of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Selections are always more or less arbitrary in such compilations as Mr. Parekh has made, and I could have wished to see a few more personalities exhibited, even at the loss of some excellent speeches, but though there are other names I might have suggested as worthy of a place in this collection, there are none I would wish to see omitted. As representatives of Bengal he has chosen that learned scholar, the late Rájá

Rajendralala Mitra, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, twice President of the Indian National Congress and its Standing Counsel in Bengal, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, editor of the *Bengalee* and the first freely elected member for Calcutta to the Bengal Legislative Council, and those eloquent brothers, Mr. Manomohan and Mr. Lalmohan Ghose. These are all men of striking personality, uncontested leaders of Bengal thought and action, and marked out by their learning, patriotism and eloquence, to be leaders and pioneers. To one of them, alas! it has been necessary to prefix the word "late," to Rajendralala Mitra, the first fruits of the ripe learning, born of Eastern application and adaptability, and Western scientific methods, who will be ever remembered in India, not only as the first great Indian scholar of the modern type, but as a sincere patriot and a man of noble character. Rajendralala Mitra's works placed him in the forefront of modern writers and students, and won him ready recognition in learned Europe; they are studied wherever Indian antiquities and early civilisation are being investigated; he was quoted, with a graceful tribute to his authority on ancient India, by Sir Richard Temple in the House of Commons, and his opinion listened to with deference; and his labours have helped to produce accomplished successors, such as Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, whose little volume on "Ancient India" was reviewed in the last number of India. Three speeches of this great man are reproduced by Mr. Parekh, of which I extract his remarks on the need for simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in another column.

The eight representative Bombay men, to whom Mr. Parekh gives admission are Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., whose personality is daily becoming better known to English people as the first Indian M.P.; the late Hon. Ráo Sáhib Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, C.S.I., a Konkanast Bráhman, who was eminent alike as a public servant, a jurist, a practising lawyer, a journalist, a member of the Bombay Corporation, as a leader in the Bombay University, being the first native Dean of Faculty, and as a member first of the Bombay and then of the Supreme Legislative Council; Mr. Justice Telang, lawyer, historian, and judge; Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, a Parsí barrister, the first Parsí M.A. of the Bombay University, and President of the Sixth Indian National Congress; Mr. Budrudin Tyabji, a Muhammadan, a barrister, President of the Third Indian National Congress, and the first Muhammadan who filled that office; Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, a Gujarátí Bráhman, the leader of public opinion in Gujarát, a skilled writer and public speaker, who acts as the representative of the rich province of Gujarát in the Bombay Legislative Council; Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, a Parsí, one of the leading journalists in India, a master of financial and economic questions, one of whose able articles was reprinted in the May number of India; and Mr. Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, who made many friends in England when he visited this country in 1885. It is invidious to distinguish between the services these men have rendered to India; all have done her yeoman service in their different lines of thought and life, and all except the Hon. V. N. Mandlik are fortunately still in the land of the living to do yet greater services for the land of their birth.

For Madras, Mr. Parekh heads his list with the late Rájá Sir T. Madhava Ráo, the most distinguished Indian statesman and administrator of his time, whose work as Diwán of Travancore and Baroda was epoch-making, and who has left a reputation which will not soon be surpassed. Though a Maráthá Bráhman by caste, the late Rájá was educated at Madras; it was to Madras he returned to rest at the close of his official labours and he was first Indian Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. Next comes a sketch of the life and selections from the speeches of Rái Bahádur Ramaswámi Mudliyar, the delegate of Madras to England in 1885, a distinguished Madras Vakil or Pleader, whose untimely death last year caused widespread regret throughout the Madras Presidency. Among living men place is given to Rái Bahádur P. Ananda Charlu, President of the Seventh Indian National Congress, and now Joint General Secretary, and to Mr. Viraraghavachariar, the leading journalist of Madras, one of the founders of the *Hindu* and Secretary of the Madras Committee of the Congress. In another column we have drawn attention to the latter gentleman's excellent and *àpropos* publication of the Indian Councils Act and the Regulations made under it. We could have wished that Mr. Parekh could have found room for a few more eminent Madras patriots. Our Madras friends work under conditions of peculiar difficulty owing to the fact that the mass of the population in Southern India is not yet roused to political life to the same degree as in Bengal and Western India, and it would have been interesting to know more about the personalities of Mr. Justice Iyer, of Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, of Mr. K. Subha Rau and others who, by their writings are doing excellent work, and, we fear, not altogether well requited work, in Southern India.

From the North-West Provinces and Oudh, Mr. Parekh has naturally chosen at the head of his list, the late Pandit Ajudhia Nath. His splendid services at the Fourth National Congress at Allahábád can never be forgotten, and his sudden death last year was the cause of general grief. There is something peculiarly attractive alike in the grand head and face, as shown in his portrait, and in his tempestuous oratory, as illustrated in this volume. The late Pandit was no common man, but one of those magnetic personalities, which can be felt in the record of their words and in the lines of their portraits, even without the need of seeing the man face to face. With him are associated in the present volume the Rájá Rampal Singh, an Oudh Talukdar, who is well known in London, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahábád, the energetic and able secretary of the last Congress, and two leading Lucknow barristers, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar, a Kashmiri Bráhman, and Mr. Hamid Ali Khán, a Muhammadan. All these men deserve their place in this volume alike by the services they have rendered and will render in the future to the cause of India, but we regret that Mr. Parekh did not add to them the name of the editor of the *Tribune*, the patriotic organ of Lahore. All eyes will be fixed on

Lahore next December, and we should have been glad here in England to have known more about the accomplished young journalist, whose newspaper shines out in the politically dark capital of the Punjab.

We must conclude by congratulating Mr. Parekh on his last volume. It was badly wanted. As I said at first, promoters of great causes cannot afford to overlook the advantage of personality in politics. The average Englishman, before he, in response to the claims of right and justice, hands over a larger part of the administration of India to the Indian people, naturally wants to know what manner of men are the leaders, into whose hands power must then largely fall. This volume is a partial answer to that natural demand—but it would be better still if we could see more of these leaders in the flesh, shake them by the hands, and hear their voices. A word must be said for the portraits which accompany each sketch, and none of the distinguished men limned in it will blame me if I call special attention to the portrait of Ajudhia Nath, whose glorious head is that of a born leader of men.

The Voice of Britain on India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE BRITISH PRESS ON INDIAN MATTERS.

THE CURRENCY RESOLUTIONS.

It is not denied even by the warmest advocates of the adoption of a gold standard for India, that the measure, whenever it is definitively carried out, will involve some difficulties, and even dangers. On the whole, however, the cautious investigations of the Committee tend to lessen the apprehensions that have been entertained in many quarters since the change of standard was discussed. It does not appear that there are any conclusive arguments against the establishment of a gold standard on the ground that the measure is impracticable, or that the natives of India are accustomed to silver, and would not trust gold. Nor is it at all necessary to contemplate a widely diffused gold currency as an incident of the adoption of a gold standard. Our own system is a peculiar one, suited to the richest country in the world, the greatest of commercial, industrial, and financial centres, engaged in the largest transactions, and able to afford the luxury of the most expensive circulating medium. But the report shows, by an examination of the currency systems of other countries, that it is not at all necessary to work the gold standard precisely as we do. In Austria-Hungary, in spite of the difficulties caused by depreciated paper, the fall of exchange that would otherwise have followed the decline in the market value of silver has been averted by closing the mints against free coinage of the cheaper metal. Thus "fair steadiness of exchange has been "maintained for more than a decade," while a gold reserve has been accumulated and the mints have been opened to gold coinage. The Committee substantially admit the arguments that the burdens of the Indian taxpayers will be augmented and that Indian trade will suffer disturbance, if the rupee is kept even slightly above the level to which exchange has recently sunk; but they point out that the same interests will be still more seriously affected by a prolongation and aggravation of existing evils. There is, no doubt, a certain danger of the depreciation of the hoards of silver bullion which constitute the wealth of the native masses, when the mints are closed to that metal, as also of the importation of the coinage of native States, and the manufacture of spurious coins. These and other difficulties, however, will be minimised by the policy which has been adopted—namely, that of closing the mints, not with the object of raising the value of the rupee, but of preventing a further fall.—*The Times* (June 27th).

We should never forget in dealing with this intricate and complicated subject that no change has been demanded or required by the natives of India. The depreciation of the rupee has done them no harm whatever. The grievance is purely a British one, except so far as the remittances of the Indian Government to this country are concerned. But if a fictitious increment is to be put upon the rupee, the loss must fall upon the native taxpayer, who will have to find the same number of those coins when they are scarcer, and therefore dearer. The case for tampering with the Indian currency has never been fully made out. Members of the Civil Service have lost on their home charges, as they would have gained if the rupee had risen instead of falling. The Lancashire manufacturers, who complain of a virtual bounty on Indian wheat, confound actual and conventional prices. If a gold standard could be maintained in truth as well as in fiction, the people of India would have no right to protest. But half measures, besides being economically bad, will be in this instance practically and grievously unjust to millions who have no votes, and whose interests we are, therefore, doubly bound to consider. Mr. Goschen, in commenting briefly upon Mr. Gladstone's announcement, took a bad point and a good one. His bad point referred to the discretionary power which the Indian Government reserve to themselves of coining the silver already on its way to India. Mr. Goschen suggested that that would be an unfair preference of the European shipper to the native holder of bullion. But, as Mr. Gladstone observed, the Viceroy and his Council cannot ignore "the plea of the parties that they had "taken a particular step in the faith which they "reposed in a given state of public arrangement." On the other hand, as Mr. Macfarlane reminded the House, there is no large mass of bullion in the hands of the natives, whose stock of silver is almost entirely confined to ornaments worn by women. Mr. Goschen's good point was expressed in the pertinent question, "Will you not practically have "a token coinage for the whole Indian Empire?" We trust that the Government will be able by fuller information to dispel this view, and to provide for the identity of legal standard with legal tender.—*Daily News* (June 27th).

To India the problem is a vital one, and it is eminently proper that she should have been allowed

to try and solve it in her own way. Of course she would greatly have preferred that the whole world should join in monetising silver and allow her to reap the benefit, but the utter breakdown of the Brussels Conference must have convinced her of the folly of such a hope. As the rest of the world will do nothing, she is now to make the attempt for herself, and the world will look on with the greatest possible interest. But also, it must be frankly said, with a considerable portion of doubt. For silver, after all is said and done, is a commodity like iron or turnips, and a commodity whose value is regulated by vulgar supply and demand. And besides the theoretical difficulties, upon which no man can pronounce a confident opinion, there are a good many practical ones, such as the incentive to counterfeiting and the effect upon the Indian agriculturist. But the experiment had to be tried, and it is an epoch-making one.—*Daily Chronicle* (June 27th).

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS FOR INDIA.

Mr. Herbert Paul carried his motion in the House of Commons last night, though he had the Government, or more properly speaking, the Departments, against him. Happily, it was only a difference between friends. The motion deals with a grievance of long standing in India. It is so fair in its principles that it might almost have won support by the mere statement of its terms. It simply exempts natives of India who wish to compete for the higher appointments to the Indian Civil Service from the onerous and costly obligation of competition in England. Mr. Paul and Mr. Naoroji, who seconded him, ask no more than that competitive examinations for such appointments, heretofore held in England alone, shall henceforth be held simultaneously in India and in England, and that all who compete in either country shall be finally classed in one list according to merit. It is a question, not merely of policy and justice, but of simple good faith. We have promised the right of competition to the natives of India, we have given it to them in form, but we have contrived to withhold it in substance, by making it conditional on what, for many of them, is an absolute impossibility. The device, unfortunately, is not unfamiliar to legislation, and the most striking example of it in our own politics is a Suffrage Act which gives with one hand what a Registration Act takes away with the other. The Indian student is told that he is as free to compete as the Englishman, but, as the competition involves a costly voyage out and home, with all the expense of coaching, residence, and probation in this country, all but the richest find the proferred boon a mere mockery of their hopes. They are as completely excluded from the examination as though they were excluded by statute. We have been pledged to the principle of this reform by the declarations of statesmen and by the promises of British Governments for more than half a century. It has the strongest claims in expediency as well as in justice. Human nature being what it is, the educated classes in India will be loyal in proportion as they find under our system opportunities of a prosperous career; or, as Lord Lansdowne said in 1833, "of wealth, and honour, "and public employment." There are difficulties, of course, and the most was made of them last night by some of the opponents of the motion. That they will admit of adjustment is evident from the conciliatory attitude of the Indian Congress. The natives would be only too glad to meet us half way, or more than half way, both in regard to partial residence in England, and to the question of race within the dependency. The governing consideration should be that we are implicitly pledged to fair play, and that we must keep our word.—*Daily News* (June 3rd).

Mr. Paul's resolution regarding the system of examination in England for the Civil Service of India was shortly after midnight this morning carried against the Government by eighty-four to seventy-six, or a narrow majority of eight. Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. T. Ellis, the principal Ministerial whips, acted as tellers against the resolution, and Mr. Curzon and other Conservatives voted in the Government lobby. The resolution received the support of a number of the Nationalists, as well as of Radical members. One amusing feature of the affair (which, of course, is of no political significance) was that a Conservative gentleman who after the division called upon the Government to resign had himself just before voted with them against the resolution. There appeared to be some doubt whether the motion was really put and adopted as the substantive resolution of the House, but we believe this was actually done, and that it will appear so recorded in the minutes of the proceedings.—*Daily Chronicle* (June 3rd).

The Voice of India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN PRESS.

THE ELECTIONS UNDER THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT.

One of the chief objections to the introduction of representative government in this country has been thus formulated by its opponents:—"The Hindus "are in the majority. They will swamp the other "sections of the community. If the elective system "were to be introduced, the Muhammadans would "be at the mercy of the Hindus who would dis-"place them everywhere." If anything should happen in connection with the approaching elections to emphasize this idea, an irreparable injury would be done to the great experiment which is about to be tried. On the contrary, if Hindus would refrain from coming forward and pressing their claims in Muhammadan districts, where there are other worthy Muhammadan candidates, if they would so far rise to the height of the situation as to interest themselves in the return of Muhammadan candidates in Muhammadan divisions, one of the great difficulties connected with the introduction of representative institutions into this country would be solved—the lie direct would be given to the assertion that we Hindus are anxious to monopolize, whenever we have the opportunity, all power and position in the country. We have made these remarks in connection with the approaching election for the Chittagong Division. The Chittagong Division is a Muhammadan Division—the Muhammadan population are in the majority. They are in the proportion of two-

thirds to one-third. There is a Muhammadan candidate for the representation of Chittagong—a man of independence, knowledge and capacity. It would be a disaster, if in a Muhammadan division a Hindu were to oust him from the representation of his fellow-countrymen. We do not know who the other candidates are—we should be sorry if there were any. But if any Hindu candidate should contend for the honour of a seat in the Council as the representative of the Chittagong Division, we would earnestly beg of him, for the sake of the great experiment which is about to be tried, to withdraw. To represent one's fellow-citizens in the Council is a great honour; it is a still higher distinction to deny oneself this honour, for the sake of the public good. A great privilege has been conferred upon us. We are on the threshold of vast and boundless possibilities. Whether these possibilities will ever be realised or not, will depend upon ourselves. The future of representative institutions in this country is in our hands. We can make or mar the future. If we allow personal feelings and petty ambitions to influence us, we shall have proved our unworthiness for this privilege. If, on the contrary, we are able to sink personal considerations, and strive by all means in our power to promote the success of this experiment, we shall have paved the way for its wider extension in the near future. Differences of race or religion constitute no barrier to the introduction of representative government in this or any other country. Representative government has reconciled differences, softened acerbities, and prepared the way for harmony, where before there was discord. The Austro-Hungarian Empire would have fallen to pieces, but for the saving principle of representative government.—*The Bengalee* (Calcutta).

Now that we have secured from Government an instalment of the concessions that would give us a fair share of the power of managing our own affairs, it is incumbent upon us to make an intelligent use of the same, which alone would entitle us to demanding a further extension of the same power. It should be remembered that with the introduction of the elected members into the Legislative Councils, we enter upon a new phase of political experience which has its own disadvantages as well as advantages. We had hitherto the unquestioned right to criticize, and to criticise without any hesitation or reserve, every false move of the legislature, and this right there was hitherto nothing to deter us from exercising. But in future we shall have a body of representatives to whom the country would be delegating its right to watch the measures of the legislature and to regulate its movements towards the just rights and the prosperity of the nation. And if these representatives should go to sleep at their post or prove false to the cause that places them there, the evil would recoil with a double force upon the country. It would not only lose its right to plead unreservedly its cause against a false step, as that step would be in a way its own work; but would lose, what is more important, also the right to have its political franchise extended, in consequence of its inability to exercise aright even the small share of it entrusted to it as an experiment. It behoves our countrymen, therefore, to consider well the circumstances of their present position, and to act so as to justify their own claim for self-goverment in some form, and the favourable view taken of their claim by a good section of enlightened and liberal rulers. The present concession should be looked upon as the first important step in the direction of progress; and it is in our hands whether we will run it up into a Home Rule for India or will have even this withdrawn, leaving the country and its finances in the hands of the irresponsible Anglo-Indians. Of the six members to be recommended by our representative bodies, two would be elected practically by the leading members of our community in Madras; and of the remaining four, two should come from the Northern and two from the Southern districts. Our friends in the North have already begun to adopt measures for unanimous action in the matter; and we hope they will succeed in their well considered attempt. The Northern districts are generally spoken of as being more backward than those in the South; and this may not be without some reason. But if we estimate their relative enlightenment by the sense and promptness shown in this important affair, we are afraid that the Southern districts shall have ere long to confess that where unanimity and generous patriotism are concerned they lag far behind their Northern brethren. There are in all thirty Municipalities in the Southern group of ten districts; and the Government has assigned one member to these thirty Municipalities and another to the ten District Boards in them. Delegates from these Municipalities and Boards will meet at Trichinopoly in a short time and elect the Council member. —*The Hindu* (Madras).

India might have possessed the germs of the elective system, or even might have enjoyed a perfected system, for aught we know, in ages gone by; but in recent times the system of election was altogether unknown. For practical purposes, therefore, it may be said that within the people's recollection the elective system was introduced, for the first time, in India by our English rulers on English lines. It is still too early to praise or condemn the system. Hitherto the elective system has been applicable to municipalities, and it must be said that it has not worked altogether as one could wish. The elections have not in all cases been such in our municipalities as can be justified on public grounds; and men have been from time to time elected, who, had they been Government nominees, would have been condemned by the Press and from the platform. But the system is getting into a better order year by year; and in time municipal elections will be as good all round as can be reasonably expected. The elective system has now been extended to our Legislative Councils, with what benefit we may find a little later on. But from what we known of the results of the elective system in our municipalities, we have reason to believe that its introduction in our Legislative Councils will be attended in time with much more profitable results than we could ever have under the purely nomination system. Under the latter, the Government chose to appoint generally such men as it liked, and not as the people liked. That is why the Legislative Councils of the country had become shams, and people cried loudly

for their reform. The Councils have now been reconstructed, and the elective system has been partially conceded. The first beneficial change of the system has been that a man like Babu Surendra Nath Banerji has been the first to be elected to the Bengal Council. This gentleman has long been known through the length and breadth of the country for his worth, ability, and patriotism; but these very qualities have stood in the way of his being nominated to the Council; and we doubt if Government would have ever nominated him to a seat in the Bengal Council. It is too much to hope that the other elective bodies will exercise their newly-acquired privilege with the same wisdom as the Calcutta Municipal Corporation has used, but they can all try at all events. We are aware that a great wave of excitement is passing over these Provinces, because of the impending elections to the Bengal Council, and that all who have any concern in the matter, are not behaving with their usual decorum. But we do not make that as a ground for a wholesale condemnation of the elective system or of the electors. Election abuses are nothing uncommon even in England, where the elective system has been in force for many centuries. It is new to India; and, therefore, our critics ought to make considerable allowances for any abuses they might notice. But for our own part, we should so work the system that its intoduction by Government may be amply justified.—*The Indian Mirror* (Calcutta).

Before the passing of the Indian Councils Act, which empowers the Indian Government to frame regulations for the enlargement of the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils, if anyone had seriously proposed that the Sirdars of the Deccan and landholders — men who know comparatively little about representative institutions — should be allowed to elect a member to represent their interests, the proposer would very probably have been set down as an impractical radical, if not a mad man. Now Government have in a sense gone in for the principle of election so enthusiastically that men, whose antecedents and surroundings have been moulded by influences of an extremely conservative character, have been invested with the new franchise in preference to bodies whose claims to recognition were acknowledged in no uncertain terms by distinguished politicians belonging to both the great parties in England. It is difficult to account for this wonderful change in the attitude of Government. Those who had till recently been talking about the influence of historical environments seem to have forgotten their own doctrines in framing their scheme for the reform of the local Legislative Council. Can it be rationally contended that the landholders in Sind and the Sirdars of the Deccan, many of whom are lady Sirdars, are more fitted to exercise the right of election than bodies which have been enjoying the privilege in their own constitution? Have not Government acted in this instance more in the spirit of a go-ahead Radical? Less charitable critics than ourselves have suggested that this new-born zeal for representative institutions has its origin in the desire of Government to weaken the elective element in the enlarged Council. The representatives of the Jagirdars and Sirdars will, it is urged, only be *Jo-Hukoom* Councillors; and that is, it is said, the reason why Government have been so liberal in enfranchising these classes. The authors of the Bombay scheme are undoubtedly in a dilemma. They must either recant their former political doctrines or must justify the exclusion of important rural and urban interests on some hypothesis other than the one which imputes to them an unworthy desire to reduce the Indian Councils Act to a sham and a mockery by deliberately ignoring such constituencies as are unquestionably entitled to exercise the right of election. — *The Gujarati* (Bombay).

Now that His Excellency has granted an interview to a deputation from the Sarvajanik Sabha, one may look to the personal explanation of Lord Harris for further light on the subject. In His Excellency's reply to the request there are considerations that people cannot afford to lose sight of. In the first place, Government seems still to hold that their distribution of seats is not looked upon with dissatifaction by the Mofussil public as the Sabha represents. That may be Government's deliberate opinion; but the protests from people in the several districts that are now pouring in in dozens must clear up the hazy mist of illusion. The Sabha have His Excellency's reply to the effect that neither interviews, nor protests, can move him from the position Government have taken up. Steadfastness in many matters is indeed admirable, but an illusion is not so; and Government, therefore, who often tell people not to persevere in misunderstanding, will do well themselves to take the initiative and remove the grievance of their own making. Government may hold that the distribution is fair and reasonable; but by what process of ratiocination they have come to this conclusion, it is very difficult to discover. Any fair minded individual, however, who is not directly or indirectly influenced by local Secretariat prejudices, must at a glance perceive that the exclusion of the most important presidential division from participation in a scheme of representation can in no way be in the interests of fair representation. It cannot, however, but be interesting to learn what plea in their explanation Government put forward in support of a double representation for the European mercantile interests at the expense of native mercantile ones.—*Native Opinion* (Bombay).

Looking at the matter from this point, and without the smallest reference to the memorials to Government, and to the able and comprehensive reply of the Governor thereto, I am almost inclined to think that the old nomination system might have been more real, with an increase in the number of nominees from amongst the different classes of the population, and the right of interpellation and discussion of the budget, as two distinct gains. As it is, the infinitesimal dose of election with which the scheme has been vitalised may evaporate at the first shaking of the open bottle. The risk of failure, I confess, is more serious than it appears. Add to that risk the difficulty of bringing Mofussil voters together, and of getting them to sink all considerations of race and caste; and you will agree how very little cause we have for jubilation over this fiction of "elective franchise." Under the old nomination system the discredit of failure

attached itself to the *Mabap Sirkar*. Government will be under much less discipline of that sort now: the public must share the odium, perhaps the larger part of it. However, we are in for it now. Let us make the best of what the gods have given in a wisely grudging and a cunningly liberal spirit.—*The Indian Spectator* (Bombay).

The elections of members to the Provincial Legislative Council are about to commence, and there are no more deserving candidates whom we should recommend to the constituencies of the North-West Provinces and Oudh than Rájá Rampal Singh, Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, barrister-at-law, and Pandit Pirthi Nath, the leading pleader of Cawnpore. Each of these three men is a tried supporter of the people's cause, and commands the confidence of the educated public. Rájá Rampal Singh represents the cream and flower of our landed aristocracy, and is a leader of the Congress movement in these provinces. He is one of a conquering band of patriots who had fought and won for us the first battle of reform; and it is a duty imposed upon us by the highest dictates of gratitude that we should do what we can to secure him the enjoyment of the first fruits of victory. In Mr. Hamid Ali Khan we have got a man of remarkable strength of mind, sturdy independence, and unshakeable resolution; and the great personal sacrifices which he has made at the call of public duty, by standing by us when some of his co-religionists were making such ridiculous exhibitions of themselves in imitation of Sir Syed Ahmed's tomfooleries, have won for him the respect and confidence of every intelligent and patriotic native of India. A lover of liberal principles, a man of sound moderate views, a sincere Muhammadan, a true Congressist, a most loyal supporter of Government, Mr. Hamid Ali Khan is just the sort of man who ought to be elected to the Council, because in his hands all the varied interests of his people will be safe, and because the Muhammadan interests in particular will receive every care and attention which from their importance they may seem to deserve.—*The Advocate* (Lucknow).

The rules for the election of members for the Madras Legislative Council have been framed in a spirit of utter narrowness. The division of the whole Presidency into two groups and the grouping together of Chingleput with Ganjam and South Canara and Malabar with Madura and Tinnevelly is obviously ludicrous. The distinction again in each group between the representation of Municipalities and that of District Boards, borrowed probably from the English system of borough and rural representation, is unmeaning. In England the boroughs represent manufactures and commerce; the counties represent agriculture. In India we have hardly yet any manufacturing industries worth speaking of; and the same kind of men and sometimes the same men represent Municipalities and District Boards. There are eleven non-official seats to be filled up, of which three are reserved for the Municipality, the University and the Chamber of Commerce of Madras. Of the remaining eight seats the Government has reserved four seats for nomination and throw open four for mofussil election. Three seats for Madras City and four for the twenty-one Districts is certainly disproportionate. Nor can it be thought necessary for the Government to retain four seats, or over one-third the number available, for the non-official representation of minorities. The Government may retain one seat for representation of minorities and throw open seven for moffussil election. In that case three districts will form a convenient election group. Even if the Government gives up one of the four reserved seats, there will be five seats, and four districts may be grouped together. The people in any three or four contigious districts know each other well. The competition between the candidates will be real and the representation real. We have to take serious objection to the method of election. It seems to be so devised that people may know as little as possible of, and take as little interest as possible in, the scheme. One most important of the election rules must be the political education of the people. Now what if all the members of the Municipalities and District Boards be allowed to vote instead of each sending a delegate?—*The Madura Mail* (Madura).

THE COUNCILS REGULATIONS.

The elective principle is thus distinctly ignored. In the majority of instances, therefore, such persons only as may be in the good grace of Government will have seats on the Council. Then, as to these independent members, it is doubtful whether the requisite number of competent men will be always forthcoming. Representatives, recommenden by the District Boards and Municipal Corporations out of Calcutta, must be residents within the Municipalities, etc. Such persons, as pointed out by some of our contemporaries, may be unwilling or unable to accept the onerous duties which would necessitate their absence from home and business concerns for parts of the year. Educated, able and public-spirited men in the mofussil are not, ordinarily, men of wealth, and *vice versâ*. This being so, the District Boards and Corporasions will find themselves in a serious predicament. They must choose such men as may possess both wealth and abilities. This would, by no means, be an easy task. Then, the numbei of members to be appointed at the instance of public bodies and associotions is only seven. These seven members will be composed of Indians and Anglo-Indians; it is hardly likely, therefore, that the number of *independent* native members appointed to the Council will ever be more than two or three. On questions involving race-interests, all the Anglo-Indians, official, non-official and *independent* as well as some of the *ap ke waste* natives will rally on one side. In such an instance the othor side will be represented by the two or three *independent* native members, and about, perhaps, an equal number of such members appointed without reference to public bodies. What will this handful of men do against overwhelming odds? They might only ..ave off for a time the passing of a particular m..asure by moving and opposing amendments till they find themselves exhausted. Whethsr the new system will be workable is, therefore, a question. Much will depend, however, on the discretion and tact of the Lieutenant-Governor. If he be a man of liberal views the position of the native members might not be quite unenviable. But Rome wás not buit in a day: and we venture to hope that time will bring us more real eoncessions. We have deci-

dedly gained something, if not much, by the concession that Government will refer to and consider recommendations of certain public bodies and associations in the appointment of some of the members: and we are for the present thankful to it for this.—*The Liberal* (Calcutta).

Gossip.

ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

HER Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress has been graciously pleased to confer the decoration of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India on Her Highness the Mahárání of Mysore.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD REAY, the late Governor of Bombay, has been chosen by the Liberal students of the Edinburgh University as their candidate for the Lord Rectorship.

THE Mahárájá of Bhaunagar shared with Lord Roberts the honour of the most enthusiastic reception in the Senate House at Cambridge, on the occasion of the conferment of the honorary degrees last week.

OUT of the 158 lady doctors of British birth who have taken their degrees, and are legally permitted to practise medicine, over 50 are at work in India and the East, while 20 are still further pursuing their studies.

TYPEWRITERS are being universally adopted in India, both in the Government offices and business houses. Some have just been completed with Maráthí and Gujaráti characters, and it is stated that the Gáekwár has purchased a dozen of these new instruments.

THE popularity of the Indian princes at present in England is remarkable. They are quite the lions of the London season, and the Rájá of Kapurthalá has also found time to make his appearance in Paris where his mastery of the French language is much appreciated.

THE fascinating paper on "Australasia as a Field for Anglo-Indian Colonisation" recently read by Sir E. Braddon before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts has been widely noticed by the Indian Press. The *Englishman* which republishes the paper *in extenso* informs its readers that it was read before the *Indian Section of the Imperial Institute!*

KUMAR SHRI RANJITSINHI, whose cricket career is noticed in the last number of INDIA has received his 'blue' as a memb[illegible] of the Cambridge University Eleven, which wil[illegible]ay Oxford this year. He was received with a perfect ovation at Lord's, when playing for the South of England against the Australians, and his evident popularity is another sign of the universal interest taken by Englishmen in their Indian fellow citizens.

AT the last meeting of the Edinburgh Indian Association Mr. Sarat Mullick moved the following resolution: "That the Indian Councils' Bill of the "late Government being found inadequate to meet "the requirements of the Indian people, this House "calls upon the present Government to so amend "the Act as to give the Indian people the free and "unrestricted rights of electing their representatives "in the Legislative Council."

THE late Mahárání of Mysore was a most remarkable woman, and an influence on the history of this great province. Her great desire, even from childhood, was to obtain the best possible education, and she insisted on joining her brother in all his studies. She knew the Sanskrit, Cananese and Maráthí languages, was a beautiful musician and a fair artist. As the fourth wife of the Mahárájá she at one time virtually ruled the kingdom of Mysore, her advice and council being invariably sought by her husband on any difficult crisis. She was a beautiful as well as wonderfully intellectual lady.

THE Brotherton Sanskrit Prize, open to all members of the University of Cambridge under the standing of M.A., has been awarded to Mr. W. C. Geldart, B.A., scholar of Pembroke College, who passed 9th into the Covenanted Indian Civil Service at the head of the Cambridge candidates last year. Mr. Geldart proceeds to the Upper Provinces, and the aptitude he has shown for the study of the most important of the languages of India and for philological studies generally—he took a first class in both parts of the Classical Tripos—augurs well for his usefulness in his future career.

MR. DE SOUZA of St. John's College, Cambridge, a native of India, who passed into the covenanted Indian Civil Service at last year's open competitive examination, was equal second in Part I of the Law Tripos at Cambridge. This is the highest place yet taken by a native of India in an English University honour examination, and is a result of the recent raising of the age for candidates for the Indian Civil Service. Mr. De Souza is to be congratulated on his persistence in pursuing his law work, while also preparing for the final examination for the Civil Service, and his career in India will be watched with interest.

THE death of Ráo Bahádur Yeshvant Moreshvar Kelkar, Oriental Translator to the Bombay Government, at the comparatively early age of 43, is announced. His greatest public service was rendered as Secretary to Lord Reay's Forest Commission in 1885. That Commission marks an epoch in one department of Indian administration, and the *data* it collected and the conclusions at which it arrived, must, and will, have an important effect when the persistent efforts of the Indian National Congress compel the Government to pay attention to the grievances caused by the present management of the Indian forests. It was only a few weeks ago that the death of one of the most able members of that Commission, Ráo Bahádur Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar was recorded, and now the courteous secretary of the Commission has followed him to the grave.

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